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CONTENTS
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INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

- Reportage on 'Comradeship-in-Arms 80' Maneuvers AA 1
  - Opening of Maneuver Camp AA 1
  - GDR's Streletz Comments AA 1
  - Report on Kessler Address[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27 Aug] AA 1
  - Polish Daily Reports [SZTANDAR MLODYCH 25 Aug] AA 2
  - Bulgarian Army Daily Comments [NARODNA ARMIYA 26 Aug] AA 2
- RUDE PRAVO on USSR Raw Material Deliveries to CEMA Countries [Hacek, 27 Aug] AA 4

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

- Budapest TV: U.S. Quest for Superiority Delays Missile Talks BB 1
- RABOTNICHESKO DELO on Detente, Sofia Peace Meeting [Stanishev] BB 2
- Romanian Delegate Addresses Geneva Nonproliferation Meeting BB 3

BULGARIA

- Costa Rica's Popular Vanguard Party Leader on Visit C 1
- Tourism Cooperation Agreement Signed With USSR C 1
- Party Daily Editorial Exhorts People To Observe Laws [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 25 Aug] C 1
- Briefs: KKE's Florakis Departure; Delegation to Venezuela C 2

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Western Coverage of Polish Events Scored D 1
  - RUDE PRAVO Commentary [27 Aug] D 1
  - Radek Vanke Analysis D 2
- Reportage on Visit by Zambian President Kaunda D 3
  - Husak Toast [RUDE PRAVO 27 Aug] D 3
  - Kaunda Toast D 5
  - Agreements Signed D 6
  - Departure for Bratislava D 7
  - Arrival in Bratislava D 7
- Trade Agreement Signed With Lebanon D 8
- TRUD Carries Alois Indra Article on Sofia Peace Forum [25 Aug] D 8
- Imports, Production of Vegetable Oil Examined [ROLNICKE NOVINY 27 Aug] D 9
- Polish Border Point Traffic Rerouted During Construction [RUDE PRAVO 26 Aug] D 10
- Briefs: New Polish Consul; Sudanese Envoy Departure; New Egyptian Envoy; CSSR Ambassador to Tunisia D 10

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Honecker Assesses International Issues in 4 July Interview E 1
- U.S. Military Presence in Gulf Area, Indian Ocean Viewed [Klein] E 16
- NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Reports Kreis Aktiv Meetings of Teachers E 17
- Agreement on Scientific Developments Signed With College E 18
- Briefs: Damage to Forestry; FRG Participation in Leipzig Fair E 18

HUNGARY

Correspondent Reports Jagielski Speech, Polish Situation F 1
    NEPSZABADSAG on Situation [28 Aug] F 1
IBUSZ Signs Agreement With Polish Tourist Office F 2
Central Control Officials Hold National Conference F 2
NEPSZABADSAG Reviews Public Complaints System F 2
Briefs: New Envoy to UN; Gastroenteritis Subsiding F 3

POLAND

INTERPRESS Denies Gierek 'Likely To Lose Post' [REUTER] G 1
Reportage on Gdansk Events, Talks Continue G 1
    Government Commission Report G 1
    Jagielski-Walesa Talks 28 August G 4
    'Narrowing of Views' Noted G 4
    Breakoff of Negotiations [REUTER] G 4
    29 August Talks Postponed [AFP] G 5
    Party's Role Acknowledged [DPA] G 6
Jagielski Criticizes Foreign Reporters' Presence in Shipyard [Stockholm] G 6
Szczecin Voivodship Socioeconomic Aktiv Held G 6
    Barcikowski at Conference G 6
    Brych Remarks on Local Situation G 7
Barcikowski, Szczecin Strike Committee Meet 27 Aug G 8
Paper Shortage Threatens Szczecin Newspaper Publication G 10
Strike Committee Reports Unlawful Collection of Money G 10
'Losses to the National Economy' Increasing Daily G 10
Growing Understanding of Strike Demands Reported G 11
'Most' Factories in Central Coastal Area Still Operating G 12
Elblag Strikes Consequences; Harvesting Proceeds Near Gdansk G 13
Reportage on Situation in Wroclaw G 13
    Work Stoppages G 13
    Talks at Idle Enterprises G 14
    Bakery Requirements Met G 14
Lodz Taxi Drivers Resume Work G 14
Bydgoszcz Radio Reports Four More Enterprises on Strike G 15
    Transportation Strike G 15
Municipal Transport in Wloclawek Ceases Operating G 15
Trade Union Officials View Events, Organization, Democratization G 15
    Romuald Jankowski Speech G 15
    Andrzej Bilak Interview [Paris] G 18
    Further on Interview [Paris] G 18
TRYBUNA LUDU Dismisses Call for Rival Trade Union Body G 19
Rakowski Article Warns Against 'Uncontrollable Confrontations' G 20
    [POLITYKA 23 Aug]
Episcopate Communique Stresses Workers' Rights [Vatican City] G 25
Pope Appeals for Peace, Justice; Welcomes Pilgrims [Vatican City] G 26
Reaction to Censoring of Cardinal Wyszynski Speech G 27
    'Incomplete, Unauthorized' Text [Vatican City] G 27
    Gdansk Workers Angry [Stockholm] G 27
    Interview With Szczecin Workers G 27
    Allegations of Priest [Stockholm] G 28
ZYCIE WARSZAWY on PZPR Central Committee Plenum Results [illegible], 26 Aug] G 29

TRYBUNA LUDU Comments on Poland's Links With Socialist Community G 31
Warsaw Cites Joseph Kraft Article on Situation G 32
WFTU Delegation Briefed on Work Stoppages G 32
Domestic Trade Ministry Announces Resumed Sales of Sugar G 33
Widespread Operation Uncovers Speculation, Hoarding G 33
KOR Representative Urges End to Strikes [Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 26 Aug] G 33

ROMANIA

Ceausescu, Cameroon President Continue Talks, Visit Enterprise H 1
    Pitesti Visit H 1
Ceausescu Receives Portuguese Socialist Party's Macedo H 1
National Day Festive Meeting in Moscow Reported H 2
Second Congress of People's Councils Set For 10-12 Sep H 2

YUGOSLAVIA

Reportage Continues on Situation in Poland I 1
    TASS Comment Reported I 1
    Polish Government on Demands I 1
    VJESNIK on International Effects [Biscevic 23 Aug] I 2
    BORBA, POLITIKA 26 Aug Reports I 3
    26, 27 Aug Press Reports I 4
Vrhovec Meets Officials at UN General Assembly Session I 5
International Law Association Conference Ends [BORBA 24 Aug] I 5
Djuranovic Chairs FEC Session on Prices I 6
RILINDJA on 24 Aug Reviews Agricultural Shortcomings in Kosovo I 6
    Pugovo Article I 6
    More on Kosovo I 7
Branko Mikulic Speaks on Collective Work, Leadership [BORBA 21 Aug] I 8
Member of Ustasha Sentenced in Mostar I 12

REPORTAGE ON 'COMRADESHIP-IN-ARMS 80' MANEUVERS

Opening of Maneuver Camp

LD282028 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1323 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Berlin--Regiments and units of the National People's Army [NVA] arrived on Thursday at the assembly areas for the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuver, where the first cordial meetings with comrades-in-arms from the fraternal armies took place. In the central section of the GDR a joint troop camp was opened. The ceremony with NVA, Soviet and Czechoslovak People's Army troop units was attended by the first secretaries of the SED Kreis executives from the area where the maneuver is taking place.

The commander of the troop camp gave his assurance, saying that the soldiers of all allied armies had prepared for this biggest military-political event on GDR territory in 1980 with a high degree of political responsibility as patriots of their homeland and in an internationalist spirit.

GDR's Streletz Comments

LD281854 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1527 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Berlin, 28 Aug (ADN)--The soldiers of the GDR National People's Army are preparing conscientiously for the Comradeship-in-Arms 80" military maneuver. The yardstick for their performance is the Soviet Army. This was stated by Col Gen Fritz Streletz, GDR deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, at a military function in Berlin on Thursday. During the nearly 25 years of the National People's Army's history it has been confirmed again and again that a high degree of fighting power and combat preparedness are the decisive conditions at all times to prevent--in cooperation with the comrades-in-arms--the class opponent from indulging in military provocations and aggression against the socialist community or its individual members.

Streletz described the maneuver as the most important military event for the members of the National People's Army on the road toward the 10th SED Congress.

Report on Kessler Address

AU281325 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Aug 80 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting on Topical Questions of Military Policy: Colonel General Kessler Speaks About 'Comradeship-in-Arms 80'"]

[Text] Potsdam--Topical questions of the SED military policy as well as the tasks of the communists and all working people in preparing the "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuvers were the focal point of a big propaganda rally in Potsdam on Tuesday.

At the meeting, which was opened by Guenther Jahn, first secretary of the SED Bezirk leadership, Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army [NVA] reported on the endeavors of the NVA members to raise their combat effectiveness and combat readiness. [paragraph continues]

With these endeavors they joined in the great movement for the preparation of the 10th SED Congress which produces on an unprecedented scale energy, creative thinking, militant attitudes, and the consistent endeavor to match the performance of the best soldiers. "They will document this at the 'Comradeship-in-Arms 80' maneuver. And here they will be in unison with their Soviet comrades, who with their performances will make a contribution to the preparation of the 26th CPSU Congress, as well as with the other armies," he stressed.

Commenting on the question of how the GDR citizens can contribute to the success of "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" Col Gen Heinz Kessler said they should use every opportunity to demonstrate their fraternal affinity with the soldiers of socialism, and inform the members of the fraternal armies about their achievements in industry, agriculture, science, education and culture for the all-round strengthening of socialism. They should talk with the soldiers of the fraternal armies and demonstrate how the revolutionary and humanist traditions of the people are fostered in our country.

He expressed his confidence that the manifold meetings will become moving demonstrations of the unity and cohesion of the socialist family of nations, of the unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries and their armed forces.

On the same day, another big propaganda rally, organized by the Rostock SED Bezirk leadership in Wolgast, was addressed by Admiral Wilhelm Ehm, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the People's Navy.

Polish Daily Reports

AU281306 [Editorial Report] Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish on 25 August on page 3 carries a 400-word Berlin dispatch by Jerzy Weber, saying that the coming "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" maneuvers are frequently discussed by the GDR media and summarizing the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 August article "The Socialist Military Coalition Is Resolutely Guarding Peace," whose author--Deputy Defense Minister Fritz Streletz--stresses the "reckless course of NATO policy in the past few years" and the dangers presented by the FRG. In concluding the dispatch Weber cites Streletz to the effect that during the joint combat maneuvers the GDR soldiers "will prove their internationalist readiness to defend peace and socialism."

Bulgarian Army Daily Comments

AU281625 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Brothers in Class, Brothers in Arms"]

[Text] As was already announced, exercises of the Joint Warsaw Pact Armed Forces are scheduled to be held in the first half of September 1980 on GDR territory and in its Baltic Sea territorial waters. These exercises will be provisionally called "Comradeship-in-Arms 80". They will be attended by staffs, units, and groups of units from the Bulgarian and Hungarian People's Armies, from the GDR National People's Army, the Polish Army, the USSR Armed Forces, the CSSR People's Army, by staffs of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as by units of the GDR and Polish Navies and of the USSR Baltic Sea Fleet--which are all part of the Warsaw Pact member-countries' Joint Armed Forces.

Under the slogan: "Brothers in arms--side by side for peace and socialism--and let us give no chance to the enemy!" The socialist countries and their armies will add a new page to their militant traditions of friendship and fraternity in arms. During the exercises the common ideas on tactical and operational methods of conducting all military actions in all branches of service and troops will be intensified and joint leadership of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces will be coordinated with the most recent achievements of the Marxist-Leninist military science. In addition to this, the combat maturity of the commanders and staffs in military exercises with the troops will be tested in practice.

A number of joint exercises conducted by allied armies have taken place in recent years, such as: "October Storm," "Voltava," "Rhodope," "North," "Oder-Neisse," "Fraternity in Arms." "Shield" and similar maneuvers. They all convincingly and eloquently proved the high combat-readiness of the socialist defense alliance's armed forces. They confirmed the perfection and reliability of the military technical equipment and the great skill of the army personnel, as well as mastery by staffs and commanders.

The joint exercises represent a contribution to the military art of the socialist armies and to perfecting the organizational coordination of actions and leadership among the allied troops.

Commanders and political organs make wide use of the joint exercises in order to exchange experiences in combat and political training and to improve the skill of specialists and outstanding experts in military affairs. During such exercises the friendly relations among soldiers of the allied armed forces strengthen and develop. Their militant comradeship, their mutual trust and their respect for each other are thus being raised to a higher level.

It is beyond any doubt that the upcoming exercise "Comradeship-in-Arms--80" will be such a manifestation of the indestructible friendship among soldiers of the fraternal armies and will serve as a demonstration of their great skill. The participants in the exercises are expected to face difficult combat tasks and to cope with them. Along with this, acting according to the rules of militant comradeship, they will have the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with each other and of consolidating their unity and cohesion.

Just as during previous exercises, the participants in the maneuvers on the GDR territory will have ample opportunity to meet the local population. This will enable the soldiers to become better acquainted with the GDR working people, with their successes in building socialism and, at the same time, it will give our soldiers the chance to tell the GDR people about the achievements of their respective countries. The Bulgarian soldiers who will participate in the exercises, for example, will be able to brief their GDR friends on the great successes of our industrious people and on the glorious political upsurge in our country at the threshold of the 12th BCP Congress.

The joint military exercises "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" will take place in an atmosphere in which the fraternal parties of the socialist countries have accomplished a great, new step forward in consolidating their unity of action and their cohesion. The socialist countries' unity was brilliantly demonstrated at a meeting held in the Crimea between Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the party leaders of the fraternal countries. This unity represents a decisive prerequisite for consolidating and developing the successes of the fraternal countries on the international scene as well as in the construction of socialism and communism.

This is of particular importance today, when the imperialist circles are trying to destroy the relations built up among countries and to undermine detente and cooperation built on an international scale, as well as to bring back the epoch of "cold war" and achieve military superiority over the USSR and the countries belonging to the socialist community. With all their efforts and by all means the imperialists are trying to create an atmosphere of war hysteria.

To us, Bulgarians, these joint military exercises are of great importance and the fact that detachments of the Bulgarian People's Army will participate in them is of particular significance to us. Our detachments are already prepared and we are convinced that they will worthily accomplish their patriotic and international duty. The participation of Bulgarian soldiers in such maneuvers makes us particularly proud. Our soldiers are going to the GDR territory as loyal allies and comrades in arms of their class brothers and brothers in arms. This fact alone most brilliantly demonstrates the correct Marxist-Leninist and international policy of the BCP and of our government.

The Bulgarian soldiers are well aware of their role and responsibility in further consolidating the socialist defense community. With realistic approach they consider the fact that the imperialist circles have not renounced their military preparations and intentions. Under these circumstances the patriotic and international duty of the Bulgarian soldiers tells them that they must improve even more the defense capacity of the socialist community and increase it combat-readiness from day to day, in close militant cooperation with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact member-countries. This is a law-governed rule in the life and activities of all fraternal armies.

The "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" exercises are in full conformity with the irrevocable aspiration of socialist countries to consolidate peace and security in Europe and the world.

RUDE PRAVO ON USSR RAW MATERIAL DELIVERIES TO CEMA COUNTRIES

AU281326 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Aug 80 p 6

[Pavel Hacek article: "Internationalism in Practice; 35 years of USSR Aid to European Socialist Countries"]

[Excerpts] A characteristic feature of the national economic plans of the European CEMA countries for the 1976-80 period is the growing role of integration processes. The implementation of integration measures further increases the role of the USSR as the decisive supplier of fuels and vitally important raw materials for the fulfillment of the USSR's European socialist partners' national economic plans in this period.

In the 1976-80 period the CEMA member countries will import from the Soviet Union more than 780 million tons of fuel (in standard units--about 346 million tons of crude oil, 90 billion cubic meters of natural gas and 6.7 billion kilowatt hours of electricity--which exceeds by 1.5 fold the deliveries of the preceding 5-year period; further 114 million tons of iron ore (in terms of metal), about 27 million tons of rolled material, more than 6 million tons of cement, more tha 2 million tons of cotton and so forth.

The Soviet Union's deliveries of these raw materials and energy sources represent an invaluable contribution to the solution of the question of the incessant development and intensification of the process of socialist economic integration and play a decisive role in ensuring the growth of the fraternal socialist countries' economies.

BUDAPEST TV: U.S. QUEST FOR SUPERIORITY DELAYS MISSILE TALKS

LD282310 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] It has been announced in Western capitals that Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Soviet state, addressed a letter to the leaders of all 15 NATO member-states. He suggested in his message that talks should open as soon as possible on limiting the number of medium-range nuclear missiles. Leonid Brezhnev suggested that the limiting of the so-called "Euromissiles" should be examined in close connection with the issue of forward-based U.S. nuclear weapons. It is not a condition for the opening of talks that the NATO decision, reached in December on installing a new type of U.S. medium-range missile in West Europe, should be canceled.

The precise details of the Brezhnev letter addressed to the heads of the NATO countries are not known, because the contents have not been published in full anywhere. However, it appears that one of its most important characteristics is the USSR's endeavor to reach a compromise. Following the decision of early December 1979, which called for the installation of U.S. medium-range missiles in West Europe, the substance of the Soviet view was that there could be no question of talks until that decision was reversed. Today, the USSR proposes negotiations and says the reversal of the NATO decision is no longer a precondition. This is very significant because the USSR considers, quite justly, that the NATO decision is a threat to its very existence. After all, the missiles to be installed can be targeted on nearly all the European parts of the USSR and their nuclear warheads can reach all those regions.

This new Soviet position became known in the first few days of July when West German Chancellor Schmidt was holding talks with Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow. At that time, this was a sensation for the whole world, and in accordance with this West German leaders reacted to it in a very positive way. This was similar to the reaction of French President Giscard d'Estaing who, as you will probably recall, met Brezhnev near Warsaw shortly before and had, in all likelihood, been informed about this plan. Apart from this, other West European leaders have regarded in a positive light the Soviet desire for agreement for which there is another very important reason. In practice it has become more and more clear that the U.S. missiles to be deployed in West Europe will turn West Europe into the primary target of a nuclear clash that would be so terrible as to be unimaginable.

After the initial positive reactions this process has slowed down and has come to a halt. This is because the United States has been trying from the very beginning to restrain its allies from accepting the Soviet initiative. The Americans may have two reasons for this: the first one--and in my view the more dangerous reason--derives from the strategic view of Brezezinski, which is an attempt to regain superiority of forces. Given that the Americans want to regain their superiority of forces, then they do not desire to hold talks. The other reason is based on domestic politics and is connected with the elections and the internal struggles that precede them.

Naturally, it makes no difference to the rest of the world what the Americans' reasons may be for postponing talks. What matters is that there is still no sign of any kind of talks. I think Leonid Brezhnev's letter attempted to drag the West out of this deadlock.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO ON DETENTE, SOFIA PEACE MEETING

AU221150 Sofia BTA in English 0830 GMT 20 Aug 80

[Text] Sofia, 20 Aug (BTA)--Prompted by the forthcoming World Peace Parliament of Nations in Sofia, RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries a long article by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, BCP secretary, headlined "In the Interest of Peace and Security in the World".

The author points out that in the seventies the international situation has been healed as a result first of all of the active foreign political activity of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, as well as thanks to the efforts of the international working class, of the national liberation movement and of the democratic forces in the world.

Mr Stanishev emphasizes: "The major task now is to keep peace and consolidate world security by still further mobilizing and uniting all forces fighting against the war. To prevent the return to the 'cold war', to defend and extend detente--this is the challenge of the day we live in".

Further on the author dwells on the Paris meeting on peace and disarmament. He points out that this meeting is yet another confirmation of the truth that the communists are the most powerful driving force of the struggle against the war danger, for restricting and halting the arms race, for disarmament.

The author writes that the USSR has recently come up with a new constructive initiative for negotiations at which, simultaneously and organically linked, to discuss both the matter of the nuclear missiles stockpiled in Europe and the question of the U.S. nuclear means brought to the front. In this way the USSR once again demonstrated its political goodwill, its sincere aspiration to get over the perilous situation being created through the decisions of the Brussels session of the NATO Council.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev points out that the fifth anniversary of signing the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference reminded of a great victory of the peace forces, of the policy of realism and goodwill.

The article reads that the World Peace Parliament of Nations to be convened in the Bulgarian capital September 23 through 27, will be held in a complicated and aggravated international situation, under the conditions of forcing the material preparations for war.

"Under the circumstances the parliament is called to voice and demonstrate the readiness and determination of the peace-loving forces to consolidate and increase their unity of action in the interest of peace and security in the world, in the interest of cooperation among peoples", the author emphasizes.

In conclusion BCP CC Secretary Dimitur Stanishev writes: "By convening the World Peace Parliament of Nations in Sofia, Bulgaria, pursuing a consistent policy of ensuring peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world is not only highly honoured but also is passed a vote of great confidence in the national peace movement in the country, which for more than 30 years now has been in the lead of the world peace movement. The BCP considers the acts of this national peace movement as an integral part of Bulgaria's multilateral activity for ensuring the peaceful future of today's and the coming generations, for the triumph of reason and goodwill in international communication, for a further establishment of understanding and cooperation among peoples".

ROMANIAN DELEGATE ADDRESSES GENEVA NONPROLIFERATION MEETING

AU251308 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 25 Aug 80

[Text] Geneva 25 Aug (AGERPRES)--Sustaining Romania's point of view on the application of the article of the treaty which stipulates the commitment of the member states to pass to the adoption of disarmament measures the Romanian representative showed that any document to be adopted by the conference should express the deep concern of the states for the unprecedented acceleration of the arms race--of nuclear armings first of all--and for the dangers it represent for international peace and security.

Given these conditions, the speaker said, it is obvious that the respective article of the treaty was not observed to its letter and spirit, since the disarmament negotiations conducted so far did not lead to any real measure of reducing armaments. The road of nuclear disarmament is, certainly, long and difficult and there are strong interests and forces which are advantaged by the continuation of the arms race. But considering the danger of devastating thermo-nuclear war, all political leaders, all forces interested in maintaining peace should assume the high responsibility of acting more firmly for creating a security system grounded not on the growth of armaments and the use of forces, but on their reduction down to ever lower levels, on the banning of the use of threat with force.

The measures to be established by the conference should contribute to a radical change in disarmament negotiations, should stimulated the states' political will of finding an acceptable solution for starting a genuine process of reducing the armings, nuclear armings first of all.

COSTA RICA'S POPULAR VANGUARD PARTY LEADER ON VISIT

AU281802 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, on 28 August Manuel Mora Valverde, secretary general of Costa Rica's Popular Vanguard Party, arrived in Bulgaria on vacation.

TOURISM COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR

AU281858 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] On 28 August Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Viktor Boychenko, first deputy chief of the Main Administration for Foreign Tourism at the USSR Council of Ministers. Valentin Pavlov, the USSR charge d'affaires, took part in the meeting.

From 25 to 28 August in Sofia talks between delegations of the Bulgarian State Committee on Tourism and the Main Administration for Foreign Tourism at the USSR Council of Ministers were held. The delegations were led by Dimitur Nikov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee on Tourism, and Viktor Boychenko, first deputy chief of the USSR Main Administration for Foreign Tourism.

The two delegations exchanged information on the development of tourism in their countries. The talks were concluded with the signing of an agreement between the State Committee on Tourism and the Main Administration for Foreign Tourism on tourism relations for the period of 1981-85.

PARTY DAILY EDITORIAL EXHORTS PEOPLE TO OBSERVE LAWS

AU281418 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Aug 80 p 1

[Editorial: "We Must All Observe the Laws"]

[Excerpts] Everybody is equal before the law. In a town or village the law applies to the ordinary citizen as well as to the mayor and the party secretary. In an office the law applies to the employee and to the minister as well. In an enterprise--the law equally applies to the worker and to the manager.

A number of organs and organizations, however, have assumed the right to fulfill their contractual obligations just as it suits them. If a citizen does not observe the clauses of an agreement he will inevitably be subjected to sanctions. However, if an organization does not fulfill its obligation on time and sufficiently well it is not held responsible.

Quite a number of violations of the law are being committed for the sake of a wrongly understood friendship. Thus, incompetent and unsuitable people are appointed to important functions. Sometimes it happens that good workers and employees are dismissed in order to make room for relatives and friends. For the sake of a friendship, apartments or building areas for weekend houses are sometimes being distributed among people who are not urgently in need of them. Sometimes we can hardly believe the outrages committed.

Things such as the preference for relatives and friends, or loyalty to people who come from the same town or village are dangerous for the observance of laws. Another widespread principle is the one: "Do me a favor, so I will do you one in exchange."

It is really surprising how some people speak in favor of and protect criminals who have caused tremendous material damages to the state and to society--who have caused even greater and irreparable moral damages to our society: The socialist property is sacred and inviolable, but is this so in reality? Misuse and squandering of this property are being committed much too often.

Our laws are democratic. They are intended to serve the people. This is precisely why we cannot treat them with neglect and manifest a lenient, permissive and liberal attitude toward those who violate these laws, who are trying to avoid them and to interpret them to their own selfish advantage or to the advantage of the collective they are working for, at the detriment of the state and of our society. No one stands above the law and no one has the right to place himself above the law. The leading cadres are assuming particular responsibility in this respect. They must set an example with their way of life and behavior.

Unfortunately, however, not all leaders are acting in this manner.

The working people enjoy great rights in our country. The party, the state and the trade unions are protecting these rights. However, we should not forget that there are no rights without obligations, there is no individual independence without public order, there is no freedom outside the law. Everyone is obliged to strictly and unconditionally fulfill their obligations. This is a question of honor and dignity for all citizens. This is an expression of the individual's cultural standards, of his political maturity and his conscientious attitude toward the state and society.

People have elected their most competent, most decent and selflessly devoted representatives as judges of our courts of justice. These judges are worthily serving the people. Sometimes it is difficult to discern truth from lies and to separate good from evil, but whenever the scales of justice are lying within the hands of honest people, when the sentence is pronounced with a clear conscience, then it is impossible for the innocent person to be punished and the guilty one acquitted.

We are building a developed socialist society. To strongly rely upon the law and its powerful constructive strength--this phrase means that all levels, and in every working place there should be law and order, discipline, strictness and responsibility.

BRIEFS

KKE'S FLORAKIS DEPARTURE--Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Greek Communist Party [KKE] Central Committee, who has visited Bulgaria at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, left the country yesterday. He was seen off by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, and by high-ranking officials of the BCP Central Committee. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Aug 80 p 2 AU]

DELEGATION TO VENEZUELA--A Bulgarian delegation led by Svetla Daskalova, minister of justice, has left for Venezuela to attend the sixth UN congress on problems of crime which will be held in Caracas from 25 August to 31 September. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 23 Aug 80 AU]

WESTERN COVERAGE OF POLISH EVENTS SCORED

RUDE PRAVO Commentary

AU281202 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Aug 80 p 7

["ZR"-signed commentary]

[Text] It is quite natural that the current events in Poland have also evoked keen interest abroad. However, the information reaching the public in the Western countries from bourgeois information media cannot but elicit astonishment over what kind of people are showing concern about the developments in Poland, what kind of people are patting the Polish workers on their backs. The vociferous campaign unleashed by bourgeois propaganda is dramatizing the events in Poland, blowing them up into absurd dimensions and using for this purpose everything and anything, including slander, speculations and insults of Polish officials.

While the democratic and progressive press in the West voices appreciation for the determination with which the PZPR is striving to solve the internal problems by political means and in a democratic way, the bourgeois press ignores this aspect of the developments because it does not suit its intentions. One can directly sense from the pages of the bourgeois press the eagerness of those who mastermind the propaganda machinery to see the events in Poland become as entangled as possible and to see conflict situations arise which they could use for further slanders of socialism.

The London OBSERVER calls on and adjures the capitalist states to extend to Poland "financial support" and appeals in this context even to humaneness. Does this happen perhaps in the interest of the consolidation of the Polish economy? What nonsense! The observer sees in it a unique opportunity to use "financial support" for exerting pressure on the Polish Government, for channeling the developments in Poland in the direction desired in the West. Another London paper THE TIMES predicts that Poland can be saved only by "political reforms"--such as would mean a parting of ways with socialism. The LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS comes up with an appeal to the Western governments to "make use of their influence on the Polish Government for asserting the demands [of striking Polish workers]." It goes without saying that no one has in mind the solution of work problems, the workers' wages or the supplies of the population, but only those demands that are directed against the substance of the socialist system.

The Viennese paper NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG and other bourgeois publications are bubbling over with compassion for the Polish working people. The FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG even writes about a "special relationship with Poland." In the background of this special relationship it sees, however, the "towns and villages that used to be German homeland." In the camp of bourgeois propaganda many feed on the events in Poland but this vociferously professed concern has nothing in common with the real interests of the Polish people. The West Berlin DIE WAHRHEIT exposes the hypocrisy of rightwing politicians and writes that Strauss, Springer and company are even turning into "active defenders of workers," naturally on foundations directed against socialism. They do not spare means to instigate, support and guide counterrevolutionary forces in Poland.

Radek Vanke Analysis

LD282158 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 27 Aug 80

[Text] Discussing developments in Poland, radio Prague's analyst Radek Vanke mentions the fact that TRYBUNA LUDU, the daily of Poland's communists, carried a commentary yesterday evaluating the conclusions of the fourth session of the PZPR Central Committee. This session, points out our analyst, dealt with Poland's present-day problems and adopted measures to tackle these problems.

The TRYBUNA LUDU commentary emphasized that the party is, to a maximum degree, meeting demands for expanding and enriching socialist democracy. This is based on principles adopted in 1971 at the party's sixth congress. Poland's communists are facing a number of problems which must speedily be solved. Changes are necessary (?in) the management of society; effects of some mistakes in the past must be overcome. These problems, however, cannot be solved overnight in a rash manner under emotional stress. Above all they cannot be solved by endless discussion.

TRYBUNA LUDU pointed out in its commentary that Poland cannot afford to slow down its development because there are things to be discussed. What is most important today is the honest work of all workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia. Without it even the best intentions for changes in the management of Poland's economy would not have the desired effect.

But this is the aim of bourgeois propaganda for which events in Poland have become a welcome impetus of an extensive antisocialist campaign. Disregarding the fact that the essence of the problem is well-known and that it was thoroughly explained at the Central Committee session on Sunday by Edward Gierek, Western information media have come forward with a veritable flood of analyses of the situation in Poland. They do not speak of problems and ways and means of solving them, but they are airing views about the failure of socialism and the necessity of social changes in Poland. They even say that stoppages in some factories amount to a refusal of socialism, and so on and so forth.

But why are they not sweeping before their own door? Why are they not talking about the breakdown of capitalist economies, about the fact that the United States--the leading power of the capitalist world--is in the throes of an intense economic crisis? From Detroit and other industrial centers news reports are coming in about additional tens of thousands of unemployed: that in the United States alone the number of strikers runs into hundreds of thousands; over 26 million Americans are living even below poverty standards? Why are they not making any noise about the fact that in advanced capitalist countries there are over 18 million jobless people, and that the cost of living is soaring in a number of Western countries? Why are they not talking, for example, about the dispute strike [as heard] of French fishermen?

It is pretty easy to find an answer to all those questions. The subversive propaganda campaign unleashed by the West against Poland boils down to an attempt of imperialist circles to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland. They are not interested in calming the situation or in helping to settle the country's problems. On the contrary, bourgeois propaganda is acting according to the slogan: The worst, the better. In capitalist countries problems are reaching a stage at which they cannot be solved any more. Therefore, bourgeois propaganda sees it fit to divert attention in a different direction.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA

Husak Toast

AU281215 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Aug 80 pp 1, 2

["Text" of toast by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, at 26 August dinner in Prague in honor of Zambian President Kenneth David Kaunda]

[Text] I am sincerely glad to be able to welcome most cordially on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, all people of the CSSR and on my own behalf, the esteemed guests, the president of the Zambian Republic, Comrade Kenneth David Kaunda, and his wife, and other Zambian representatives.

Dear Comrade President: We are convinced that your visit, the first visit of the head of the Zambian Republic to Socialist Czechoslovakia will bring new stimuli to the development of mutual relations and will become an important milestone in deepening friendship, cooperation and solidarity between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Zambia. The Czechoslovak people, who have for centuries fought against oppression and foreign rule, have with feelings of great sympathy supported the heroic people of Zambia, who, under your leadership, conducted a just struggle against colonialism, for national freedom and the independence of their country. In the spirit of the deep revolutionary and internationalist traditions of our nations, our party, the CSSR and our people, together with the fraternal parties and states of the socialist community, have firmly stood alongside the people of your country. We are sincerely pleased at the results achieved by the Zambian people in the 16 years since winning independence in the development of their country. We understand well the endeavor of the Zambian Republic for strengthening independence and sovereignty, for ensuring peaceful and creative work of the Zambian people. We have high regard for the significant contribution made by your country to the joint struggle of the African nations against imperialism, for the total liberation of the African Continent from racist and colonial regimes, for an independent political and economic development of African states. We highly appreciate the fact that in recent years, above all, significant positive steps have been made for the development of the political, economic and cultural contacts and cooperation between our countries.

Our talks held today, which took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere of mutual understanding, and which were marked by the businesslike nature and identity or closeness of the views concerning the questions under discussion, show convincingly that to date the possibilities of the further development of our cooperation have by no means been exhausted. I can state that Czechoslovakia has a sincere interest in the further strengthening and broadening of this cooperation in all spheres--cooperation based on the principles of equality, respect, noninterference and mutual benefit. We much appreciate the fact that you also, Comrade President, and the government of your country pay great attention to the questions of cooperation between our states. We attach great significance to the further deepening of political contacts; we are convinced that the declaration on the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, which we are to sign at the close of the visit, will lay down new foundations for their further successful development.

During our talks we have also expressed mutual interest in further strengthening and developing in a planned way on a broader contractual basis our cooperation in the economic, scientific and technological and cultural sphere. This will be to the benefit of both our countries and the Czechoslovak and Zambian people.

Dear Comrade President: Our countries, although geographically far apart and although they have developed in different historical conditions, are drawn close by their joint interest in the solution of many essential problems of the present world. At the forefront of attention among the progressive, democratic, anti-imperialist forces continues to be the struggle of the national liberation movement--above all, that of the nations of Africa--for the final elimination of all forms of colonialism, racism and apartheid. The people of Socialist Czechoslovakia follow this just struggle against imperialist oppression and exploitation, for ensuring territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence, for the right to decide freely one's own affairs, with great attention and feelings of sincere and deep solidarity. In keeping with our capabilities we give to this struggle our permanent support and aid. We highly praise the role played in the national liberation struggle of the African nations by the Zambian Republic and you personally. Your country is also an important member of the nonaligned movement, which is an influential agent in the struggle for peace, national and social liberation and social progress.

We value [vazime si] the role played in the struggle of the African nations for political liberation and economic development by the OAU. We are convinced that this struggle will culminate in victory. We are also drawn close by our joint interest in the preservation of peace and averting the threat of a new world war conflict. In consequence of the escalated aggressive policy of the most reactionary forces of international imperialism and Chinese hegemonism, a policy aimed against international detente and international understanding, the situation in the world has recently become seriously complicated. In the endeavor to hamper the historical process of social progress these forces, above all in the United States, are trying to disturb the existing military equilibrium. Hence their course toward an increasing armament and deterioration of the international atmosphere.

We are convinced that it is in the interests of all peoples of the world to avert this dangerous development and, by the joint effort of all peace-loving and realistically thinking forces, to ensure that detente and the development of peaceful cooperation continue to be the main trends in international relations. For this reason we endeavor in our foreign policy, whose firm foundation is in our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community, to develop further the process of detente and the positive results of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

We consider it of the utmost urgency that the feverish armament be stopped and specific steps be achieved in the field of disarmament. Momentous new initiatives for achieving this goal were submitted by the Warsaw Pact member states in the declaration of the May session of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw.

The aggressive forces of imperialism are not only preventing a peaceful settlement and elimination of the existing centers of tension in the world but they are stirring up new conflict situations endangering international peace and security. Czechoslovakia, together with the other states of the socialist community and the progressive and peace-loving forces of the whole world, resolutely condemns and rejects this dangerous policy. We are glad to be able to note that in this direction, too, our deliberations today have shown that our opinions on most open questions of current world events either agree or are very close. The Czechoslovak people stand firmly on the side of the courageous people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea and support the endeavor of these countries to ensure sovereignty, territorial integrity and the development of peaceful cooperation with the neighboring states. We resolutely denounce imperialist interference and aggressive actions against the revolution and people of the Afghan People's Democratic Republic, and we support the path toward a political settlement of the situation in keeping with the proposals of the Afghan Government. [paragraph continues]

Our support for the just peaceful settlement of the Mideast situation in the sense of the appropriate UN Security Council's resolutions is firm and unchangeable.

Esteemed Comrade President: I wish once again to express our firm conviction that your visit to Czechoslovakia, our talks and the documents to be signed, will become a new stimulus for the development of further fruitful cooperation and friendly contacts between the people of the CSSR and the Zambian Republic, and will serve the cause of peace, international security and freedom of nations.

Kaunda Toast

LD271950 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2000 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Text] Following the address of Comrade Gustav Husak, Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia, proposed a toast:

[Begin Kaunda recording in English with superimposed Czech translation] Allow me, Comrade President, to thank you, your party, government and the people of the CSSR for the reception filled, in my view and that of my delegation, with (?warmth). Your welcoming words and the sincere expression of fraternal solidarity are the reflection of friendly ties which bring the nations of both counties still closer together. Our visit is the first visit to the CSSR. However, this is not the first experience of your country and people: Devoted workers from Czechoslovakia have been working in Zambia for some years, and I must mention their excellent services.

We are greatful, Comrade President, for your kind invitation on whose basis we have come to acquaint ourselves with the life and work of the Czechoslovak people. These official relations will, no doubt, create a firm foundation on which we have to build our mutually advantageous alliance. We are bringing to your people sincere and fraternal greetings from the people of Zambia. We look forward to permanent and happy working relations with Czechoslovakia. [applause]

We have come to your beautiful country to learn from the long-standing experiences in the work for the well-being of man. We look forward to really fruitful exchanges of views and ideas on the basis of our different historical experiences.

The CSSR is an important socialist country. It is an example of perseverance, devotion and patriotism with which you are managing to create a new society; you are united and your strength grows.

We come from southern Africa which is witnessing a great struggle for national liberation and the cold-blooded killings of men, women and children by hostile elements in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana and even in our country, Zambia. The enemy has striven daily to spread the war still further, and has striven and opened war in order to devour the entire south African subcontinent. We have resisted with all the means at our disposal. Today we are happy that Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe are free.

Allow me to thank you and your people who, together with nations of other socialist countries, gave all-round assistance to the oppressed nations of our area in their liberation struggle. Without the firm support of socialist countries the sovereignty, freedom and independence would have come later in our part of Africa. The struggle in southern Africa is not yet at an end. The support of Czechoslovakia and the support of all progressive countries are still needed in Namibia and when removing apartheid in South Africa.

The racist South African Republic despises the international community and continues to install the puppet regime in Namibia. This is a threat to international peace and security. Progressive forces must escalate in concert the mobilization of the world community against apartheid. We have to increase material support in order to speed up the attainment of freedom and independence in Namibia and the South African Republic.

Comrade President: We are pleased with the sincere and fruitful talks on bilateral questions and cooperation between Zambia and Czechoslovakia.

During our humanist and socialist revolution we divide our activity and the activity of other countries into five key spheres of human activity: these are the political, economic, social and cultural, scientific and technological, and defense and security spheres. We measure our cooperation with every country according to the extent of joint actions of Zambia and other countries in each one of these spheres.

Just like Czechoslovakia, Zambia is also advancing on the path of socialism. There should, therefore, be no obstacles and no limits to the extent of our mutual cooperation in all these five spheres. Our mutual possibilities are not yet fully known. For this reason it is necessary to strive for a better knowledge of each other.

Zambia is a new country in Africa. It has a small population but great unutilized resources in agriculture, in extraction of minerals and in industry. We need reliable partners for rapid development everywhere: We urgently need experienced management, technology and means for development. Our party has made political decisions for the rapid development of agriculture, extraction and industry. Our agricultural branches are opened to fruitful utilization, including the largest units of state farms. We want partners for development. Zambia is beginning the socialist struggle for economic liberation. Czechoslovakia as a socialist country has a great place in our new economic struggle. We look to you, Comrade President, your CPCZ and your great people as allies in our socialist economic effort. We yearn for the broadening of the extent of mutual cooperation.

I would like, once again, to thank you for myself and on behalf of my delegation for the invitation of your country. [applause] [end recording]

Agreements Signed

LD281338 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] The final talks between the Czechoslovak delegation headed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and the Zambian delegation headed by Kenneth Kaunda, president of the Zambian Republic, were held in Prague Castle today.

Other members of the Czechoslovak delegation were: Josef Korcak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, deputy federal premier and Czech premier; members of the Central Committee of the party Rudolf Rohlicek, deputy federal premier; and Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs; Leopold Ler, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee and minister of finance; Andrej Barcak, minister of foreign trade; and Vaclav Maly, Czechoslovak ambassador to the Zambian Republic.

The Zambian side was further represented at the deliberations by: members of the United National Independence Party [UNIP] Central Committee, Reuben Kamanga, chairman of the Committee for Political and Legal Affairs; Humphrey Mulemba, chairman of the Committee for New Appointments and Discipline; and Kapasa Makasa, chairman of the Committee for Rural Development.

Also present were Remi Chisupa, minister of trade and industry; Kebby Musokotwane, minister of finance, Wilson Chakulya, minister of foreign affairs; Unia Gostel Mwila, minister of agriculture and water development; and Syanga Chimabale, Zambian ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

The deliberations were characterized by a friendly and comradely atmosphere. Both parties expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit and noted that the results will make a significant contribution to the development and strengthening of relations between Czechoslovakia and Zambia, and to the deepening of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

When the deliberations were over, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and Kenneth David Kaunda, president of the Zambian Republic, signed a joint declaration of relations, friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and the Zambian Republic.

Josef Korcak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Reuben Kamanga, member of the UNIP Central Committee, signed an agreement on cooperation between the CPCZ and the UNIP.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, and Wilson Chakulya, Zambian minister of foreign affairs, signed an agreement on cultural cooperation between the CSSR and the Zambian Republic.

Andrej Barcak, minister of foreign trade, and Kebby Musokotwane, Zambian minister of finance, signed an economic agreement between the CSSR and the Zambian Republic.

Andrej Barcak, minister of foreign trade, and Wilson Chakulya, Zambian minister of foreign affairs, signed a program on economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the CSSR and the Zambian Republic. Also adopted was a joint Czechoslovak-Zambian communique. The delegation of the Zambian Republic, headed by President Kenneth David Kaunda, has left Ruzyne Airport for Bratislava.

Departure for Bratislava

LD281718 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Excerpt] After the conclusion of negotiations and the signing of the final documents in Prague, Zambian President Kenneth David Kaunda continued his visit in Czechoslovakia by flying to Bratislava.

The Zambian guests were seen off at the festively bedecked Ruzyne Airport by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, president of the republic, and Czech Premier Josef Korcak. Following the national anthems of the two countries, accompanied by a 21-gun salute, Kenneth Kaunda and Gustav Husak inspected a military guard of honor of the Prague garrison, carrying a fighting banner.

Arrival in Bratislava

LD282050 Prague CTK in English 1605 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Bratislava, 28 Aug (CTK)--Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, currently on an official visit to Czechoslovakia, arrived in the Slovak capital of Bratislava Thursday afternoon.

He was welcomed at Bratislava airport by member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart and other leading Slovak representatives. The Zambian guest then laid wreaths at a memorial symbolizing the victorious struggle of the Slovak people against fascism during the Slovak national uprising, and paid tribute to those who 36 years ago sacrificed their lives for freedom.

TRADE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH LEBANON

LD282028 Prague CTK in English 1148 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Prague, 28 Aug--A new trade agreement, providing for further expansion of trade and economic relations between Czechoslovakia and Lebanon was signed at Zbraslav Castle near here by Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Jaroslav Jakubec and director general in the Lebanese Ministry of Economy and Commerce Antoin Musali.

The new agreement creates conditions for greater Czechoslovak exports of engineering and consumer goods to Lebanon. The new wider structure of exports will include food industry, metallurgical, paper and textile industry products, glassware and ceramics, machine tools, textile and [word indistinct] machines. Czechoslovakia will import Lebanese agricultural and manufactured goods, particularly fruit and tobacco.

During the talks between the two delegations, possibilities [words indistinct] Czechoslovak participation in projects envisaged in the eight-year plan of development of Lebanon's economy, such as road construction, modernization of the railway network and the light industry.

TRUD CARRIES ALOIS INDRA ARTICLE ON SOFIA PEACE FORUM

AU281655 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 25 Aug 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, entitled: "A Responsibility to Mankind"]

[Text] Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, the world changed. The progressive forces increasingly affected world developments. As a result of this, for the first time in the history of mankind there occurred a realistic possibility for achieving a just and democratic peace so that one of the basic human rights--the right of a peaceful life--could be secured. I emphasize the word possibility, because the most reactionary imperialistic forces are taking advantage of every opportunity to try again to turn the wheel of history backwards. It is their fault that within the last few months our planet has been swimming in a very rough sea.

Only the intensified activity of the peace-loving forces can stop the criminal designs of the warmongers. We must decisively withstand the hysterics and irresponsibility of the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles that are backed by the hegemonistic strivings of the Chinese leadership. We must continue the efforts to secure a further development of detente, to stop the arms race as well as to continue disarmament and development of the international relations on the principle of peaceful coexistence among the states with different social systems. The Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist countries with their patient, reasonable and repeated initiatives show the path toward the achievement of these goals. It is gratifying that the initiatives supporting the interests of all mankind are being widely responded to. The progressive and peace-loving forces in the world support them and many realistic Western politicians are assessing them in a positive manner.

The times are long past when international relations were conducted by so-called secret diplomacy and when the decisions about the destiny of the peoples were made behind their back and in contradiction to their aspirations. World public opinion is strong enough to create an atmosphere in which the warmongers will not be able to breathe. Mankind can--and it is in the interest of preserving life on earth--and must impose constructive proposals that would show a way out of the present complex situation.

The Czechoslovak people who actively support the CPCZ and CSSR policy genuinely acclaim the WPC's initiative on convening a World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace in Sofia. More than 2,000 delegates from all over the world are expected to meet there. People of various races, speaking different languages and having different political and philosophical views, atheists, followers of various religions, representatives of various classes and social groups will meet to discuss the present international problems. I believe that all of them will find a common language on how to prevent the activities of the enemies of peace and how not only to secure but also to continue the positive developments of the seventies. In conformity with the willpower of the Czechoslovak people, our delegation will contribute to the success of this impressive world meeting.

We genuinely congratulate the National Peace Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on its being honored with the assignment of organizing this parliament of historic importance. This also is a recognition of Bulgaria's international activity in the service of socialism, progress and peace.

This article is preceded by the following TRUD editorial note: "TRUD's international forum before the World Parliament of the People's for Peace: In connection with the World Parliament of the People's for Peace, to be opened in Sofia on 23 September 1980, the TRUD editorial office has called on prominent international and Bulgarian politicians, trade union and public figures to kindly express in this newspaper their ideas on the problems of the present world struggle for peace."]

IMPORTS, PRODUCTION OF VEGETABLE OIL EXAMINED

AU281257 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 27 Aug 80 p 4

[Article by Eng Miroslav Prokes, candidate of sciences: "The Way Toward Self-Sufficiency; Attention to the Domestic Production of Oleaginous Crops"]

[Excerpts] Oleaginous crops constitute an important part of the problem of Czechoslovak self-sufficiency in foodstuffs. Despite a relatively fast growth over a period of many years Czechoslovak consumption of vegetable fats and oils still depends 60 percent on imported raw material. Every year we spend more than a billion of foreign currency korunas to cover the fat industry's import needs. This considerably burdens our foreign trade balance and draws significantly on our foreign currency reserves.

The consumption of edible fats has been steadily growing in the CSSR in the postwar period and this year it will reach about 24 kilograms per capita in terms of pure fat, which is 70 percent above the prewar level. There have also been great and propitious changes as far as the composition of the fats is concerned. The share of animal fats and oils have been showing an upward tendency; in 1979 the per capita consumption was 9.9 kilograms.

A further increase of the share of edible oils in the overall consumption of fats is needed. However, there is only one way to achieve this--by expanding the area under cultivation and increasing the per hectare yield.

In the 1971-79 period oleaginous crops were cultivated in the CSSR, on the average, on 69,236 hectares. With average hectare yields of 1.8 tons, the total annual production of oleaginous seeds averaged 125,000 tons. Substantially higher production tasks were set for the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. In the 1976-1980 period the annual production was to average 200,000 tons, 60 percent more than in the Fifth 5-Year Plan. In the first 4 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan annual production averaged 162,000 tons, 30 percent more than the average annual production of the years of the Fifth 5-Year Plan. This is undoubtedly a success (both the area of cultivation and the hectare yields have been increasing) and oleaginous crops are still among the fastest developing branches of plant production. Nonetheless, the state plan is being fulfilled only 85.5 percent.

The directive for 1980 stipulated a production of 240,000 tons of oleaginous crops. Their composition was to be as follows: 190,000 tons of rape, 25,000 tons of sunflower, 15,000 tons of flax and 2,500 tons of soybeans. Poppy seeds, mustard and other raw materials that are not processed by the fat industry account for the remaining 7,500 tons. The envisaged production for 1985 is 287,000 tons and for 1990 it is 300,000 tons of oleaginous crops. This would make it possible to reduce by two thirds the present imports.

POLISH BORDER POINT TRAFFIC REROUTED DURING CONSTRUCTION

AU270940 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 80 p 2

["ZA"-signed report in the column "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..."]

[Text] Due to the reconstruction of the Bohumin-Chalupki border crossing point, truck and bus traffic is suspended there as of 25 August. Effective 15 September the border crossing point will be completely closed. Citizens traveling to the Polish People's Republic by car or by bus can use in particular the Krnov and Mikulovice border crossing points; truck traffic will be let through only via the Cesky Tesin border crossing point.

BRIEFS

NEW POLISH CONSUL--Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, on 20 August received in Bratislava Jerzy Kuczynski, the new Polish consul general, in connection with the latter's taking up his duties. In a cordial talk J. Lenart acquainted the Polish guest with the topical tasks in building the advanced socialist society in Slovakia. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 21 Aug 80 p 1 AU]

SUDANESE ENVOY DEPARTURE--Ar-Rashid Abu Shamah, the ambassador of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to the CSSR, left Czechoslovakia on 22 August. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 80 p 2 AU]

NEW EGYPTIAN ENVOY--(Muhammad 'Aziz Issa), ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the CSSR, arrived in Czechoslovakia on 22 August. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 80 p 2 AU]

CSSR AMBASSADOR TO TUNISIA--Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received in Prague on 21 August Andrej Petricek in connection with the latter's appointment as Czechoslovak ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 80 p 2 AU]

HONECKER ASSESSES INTERNATIONAL ISSUES IN 4 JULY INTERVIEW

LD252314 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1257 GMT 25 Aug 80

[Text] Berlin--Erich Honecker's autobiography "From My Life" which now appears in the "Leaders of the World" series, contains the following interview which the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State granted to Robert Maxwell, president of the Pergamon Press Limited publishing house and publisher of the above-mentioned series, on 4 July of this year.

Question: How do you assess the intra-state relations between the two German states? What prospects of development exist in your opinion for these relations?

Answer: Overall, relations are not bad. However, they could be still better. This is not easily achieved. After all, two states with differing social orders on German soil are involved. The problem is that certain circles in the Federal Republic of Germany, especially part of the mass media, have still not realized that the German Democratic Republic is not a territory of the FRG. They are always very tempted to assume the part of sole representative of German politics, which is of course totally erroneous.

When concluding the basic treaty it was clearly formulated that the GDR and FRG are to respect the independence and autonomy of each of the two states in its internal and external affairs. This is sometimes forgotten in the FRG. However, this does not prevent the GDR from claiming its full sovereignty and, in agreement with the Final Act of Helsinki, to develop its relations with the FRG in the same way as with all other Western states. In this we always consider that the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are of decisive importance not only for the citizens of the two German states but also for peace in Europe.

In my view prospects for the development of relations between the two German states are good. The objective is to use existing opportunities better than before while observing common interests. An improvement in the climate between the two German states, which we are aiming at, would also be beneficial for the manifold communications between the GDR and FRG, including tourist traffic.

Question: Which concrete steps could the two German states, as members of their respective military alliances, undertake in order to reduce East-West tensions in central Europe?

Answer: Obviously it is not up to me to judge what could be done on the part of the FRG in order to undertake, within the framework of her alliance, concrete steps in this direction. The exchange of views which I had recently with Herr Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Belgrade, indicated that considerable obstacles still have to be overcome in order to achieve an appreciable reduction in East-West tensions in central Europe.

As far as our side is concerned, I should like to say that we have a wholly concrete concept of how to reduce tensions and how to continue the process of detente, for instance the preparation of a European conference on military detente and disarmament in Warsaw. The most important thing is that especially in complicated situations the dialogue between East and West, south and north is being continued. The states of the Warsaw Pact in their declaration, have tabled proposals to the West which, it seems to me, represent a negotiating basis which is acceptable for all concerned. Their realization would not only help reduce tensions in Europe but enable genuine progress in safeguarding peace to be made.

In this I am thinking particularly of a good preparation of the Madrid Conference and a constructive approach to our proposal of convening the abovementioned conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe. Expansion of confidence-building measures may be capable of pulling the rug from beneath the tendency of some NATO states toward "counterarming." What mankind needs least of all is a tightening of the arms spiral. Apart from that we agree with our alliance partners that ratification of the SALT II treaty would make possible the start of negotiations on SALT III.

Question: What possibilities and prospects do you see for progress being made as regards extending confidence-building measures in Europe at the next CSCE followup conference in Madrid?

Answer: I can see such possibilities and prospects. The objective is that all sides constructively tackle the preparation of the CSCE followup conference in Madrid. As is known, the GDR by multilateral consultations, including those with the governments of Western states, has been trying to introduce into the negotiations those questions whose solution will help to consolidate mutual trust in Europe and to reach truly positive results.

Question: All Europeans have recently been noting that peace and order in the world seem no longer as secure as, for instance, a year ago, and that the dangers of political tensions can also be transferred to Europe. What do you believe is the cause for this?

Answer: This question concerns the crux of today's international situation which has indeed been deteriorating for some time. Many people are quite rightly worried about the threat to peace. But where are the causes to be sought? It is obvious that the international situation has deteriorated because certain circles in the United States have long been trying to change from detente to confrontation. They are aiming to involve also the West European countries of NATO as well as states in other regions of the world in the wake of this policy of strength and hegemonism.

Some influential circles in the United States and in a number of other states in the West seek to turn world events in a different direction as laid down in the Final Act of Helsinki. They just don't like the direction of the policy of detente. Hence the NATO Council adopted its long-term arms program as early as May 1978, that is, more than 1 year prior to the USSR's aid given to revolutionary Afghanistan. Already last year the U.S. Government proclaimed the right to lead the world, to military superiority, and to the questionable right of "punishing" other states, such as Iran, with military force. Whatever may be thought about the advantages of this or that social order, the question of peace or war is the central question of our time.

Question: During the past weeks meetings by statesmen in Belgrade, Vienna and Moscow have, in my opinion, created a somewhat more favorable situation. Do you agree, and what would you like to say to this?

Answer: I share your opinion that the meetings by statesmen in Belgrade, Vienna and Moscow have created a somewhat more favorable international situation. After all, it is remarkable that an increasing number of circles come to recognize that dialogue between states of different social orders must be continued in the interest of peace.

Question: What do you think of the statement made by L. I. Brezhnev on the occasion of the visit by Chancellor Schmidt to the effect that the Soviet Union is prepared to negotiate on medium-range missiles without insisting that NATO cancel its counterarming decision?

Answer: Indeed, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev during Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's visit made a number of proposals which are suitable for overcoming the deadlock in the disarmament dialogue which arose through NATO's Brussels missile decision. The suggestion, which Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt conveyed to Washington, was made to begin preliminary negotiations on nuclear medium-range missiles. The discussion of this question could begin without awaiting the ratification of SALT II. However, it must obviously be remembered that possible agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States can be realized only after the ratification of the SALT II treaty. It is hoped that SALT II will be ratified.

Question: How do you assess the recent visit by Chancellor Schmidt to Moscow?

Answer: The meeting between Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt must be assessed positively. Obviously the results of this visit are most useful for the continuation of the process of detente in Europe. Whether they will meet with a relevant response in the United States, I am unfortunately not yet able to say.

Question: Does the GDR see any possibilities of talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact states on medium-range missiles or do you believe that these talks should take place exclusively between the USSR and United States?

Answer: In my view talks on these issues, if they are to lead to success, can only be held between the USSR and United States.

Question: Do you believe that talks on medium-range missiles can take place and positive results be achieved even though SALT II has not yet been ratified?

Answer: I have already indicated that such a possibility exists. Any results achieved in this respect, however, can only come into effect with the ratification of SALT II.

Question: Do you hold the view that East-West negotiations on the possibility of a moratorium on the production and deployment of new medium-range missiles systems have any prospect of success?

Answer: This largely depends on the development of relations between the Soviet Union and United States and on the ratification of SALT II. It is to be hoped that the Soviet Union's recent proposals will meet with an appropriate response in the United States.

Question: Would you like to comment on the statement in the SPD's election program that "security is only possible by reducing tension and disarmament only on the basis of East and West military forces in Europe being of the same size"?

Answer: The sentence you quote is assuredly indisputable in its comment. The obvious course surely would be for those responsible in the SPD to reflect whether some of them had not proceeded from false premises at the SPD congress last December when they approved the planned missile decision. Anyone who believed that approval was justifiable because the ratification of SALT II, soon followed by talks on SALT III, could be expected directly afterwards to have realized in the meantime that he was deceiving himself.

Question: What is your view on the NATO Council decision last December to invite the Warsaw Pact states to negotiate on limiting, in the European theater, the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe, and also on the proposal by Chancellor Schmidt that both the East and the West should agree to talks on the introduction of medium-range missiles?

Answer: The NATO Council decision of December 1979 in Brussels on the production and deployment of new nuclear U.S. missiles in West Europe at the time undermine the bases for negotiations on the subject of medium-range missiles. This was not changed by the fact that a general invitation for talks was published as an alibi, so to speak.

May I call attention to the fact that L. I. Brezhnev, to mark the celebrations for the GDR's 30th anniversary in Berlin, directed a generous offer of talks to the NATO states. As you know, he combined this with the announcement of a unilateral troop reduction on the part of the Soviet Union on GDR territory which has since been carried out. The offer of an immediate start to talks on all outstanding issues was, however, thrown to the winds by the Western side. As I already said during my telephone conversation with Helmut Schmidt, this was a fateful decision.

It is to be hoped that preliminary talks on questions relating to SALT III will get underway in connection with the expected ratification of SALT II. The most important thing of course is for SALT II to be ratified.

Question: What do you think about Chancellor Schmidt's decision to uphold his agreement on stationing U.S. cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles on FRG territory?

Answer: I continue to regard this as a fateful decision.

Question: Has the promised withdrawal of Soviet troops, announced by L. I. Brezhnev at the celebrations for the GDR's 30th anniversary, been accomplished and how many soldiers and tanks have been withdrawn?

Answer: In accordance with its unilateral initiative, the Soviet Union has withdrawn 20,000 soldiers and 1,000 tanks as well as the attendant military equipment. Unfortunately, there has so far been no positive reaction from the West to this unilateral step by the Soviet Union.

Question: There were recently claims made in the West German press that the GDR has increased its army by two new divisions. How, if this is true, does this step contribute to disarmament in Europe?

Answer: You know, FRG mass media constantly publicizes incorrect reports about the GDR. If we wanted to deny all of them, we would have very little time to deal with our proper work.

Question: Does the four-power agreement on West Berlin function satisfactorily, and how do you assess the development of relations between West Berlin and the GDR?

Answer: Overall the quadripartite agreement on Berlin (West) of 3 September 1971 works excellently. It not only extinguished one point of tension, but also brought numerous improvements in the relations of Berlin (West) and its environs, including its connections with the Federal Republic. You only have to compare the traffic of persons and goods in 1979 with that in 1969 to see that this agreement is having a most positive effect on the development of Berlin (West).

For this and various other reasons it is difficult for me to understand why some people are constantly trying to test the agreement as to its stress rating. This contains the danger of undermining the viability of Berlin (West). I am thinking especially of the attempts to undermine the central regulation of the quadripartite agreement according to which Berlin (West) is not a component part of the FRG and may not be governed by her. Efforts of this kind have no chance of success.

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Anyone in favor of detente and peaceful coexistence of the peoples ought also to be interested in the strict adherence and full application of the quadripartite agreement on Berlin (West).

Looking at the record one is justified in saying that relations between Berlin (West) and the GDR have developed positively. Every permanent inhabitant of Berlin (West) finds (?this) confirmed by the fact that all steps of cooperation with the GDR, whether they concern traffic questions, sewage problems or economic relations, are nothing but beneficial for the population of Berlin (West). We are prepared for further constructive steps, whether in the sector of traffic, the further development of economic relations or in various other areas which are of benefit for both sides.

Question: In the communique issued on the occasion of the Moscow visit by Federal Chancellor Schmidt, there are formulations on Berlin and the four-power agreement which in my view weaken former formulations. What, in your view, are the political reasons for this?

Answer: On account of various reports I have looked once again at the communique. I am unable to note that the formulations on the quadripartite agreement on Berlin (West) of 3 September 1971 have been weakened. Both sides have underlined that it is necessary to adhere to this agreement strictly and apply it fully. This applies above all to respecting its central regulation that Berlin (West) is not a component part of the FRG and may not be governed by her.

Questions: What do you think is the reason for the fact that GDR athletes, although the GDR population is only one tenth of that of the United States of America, win more medals than the latter's athletes?

Answer: That is a question I have often been asked lately. I would ask you to please understand that I cannot regard it as my task to reflect on the development of sport in the United States. The United States has excellent athletes. Unfortunately our athletes will not have the opportunity to compete with them during the Olympic games in Moscow in the spirit of the Olympic idea.

The regard for the achievements of the U.S. athletes is not being lessened by our pride in our own athletes who have proved that a small country is also capable of attaining high achievements in the sports sector. The reasons for the successes of our athletes are manifold. Essentially they are derived from the fact that in our country numerous talents are being promoted with the help of childrens' and youth Spartakiades and corresponding selection. I believe that this is the main reason for our athletes' successes.

Question: What measures has the GDR taken to safeguard the living standards of its people, in view of the fact that like all others it has to pay considerably more for oil, other sources of energy and raw materials, which it imports chiefly from the USSR?

Answer: Let me say that our extensive imports of oil, natural gas and other raw materials from the Soviet Union on a long-term basis are very advantageous for the GDR. It is well known that the prices for these raw materials within CEMA are much lower than on the world market.

In 1979 for example we paid for our oil and natural gas imports from the Soviet Union 30-40 percent less than the average price on the capitalist world market. That is a great help for the GDR.

Of course that is not the only reason for the dynamic development of the GDR's economy and the high living standards of its citizens. As I have already told you, our people are hard-working and industrious. Besides we have an industry and agriculture managed on modern lines and an excellent education system. Since the founding of our republic, in 1949, over 1.5 million students graduated from our universities and vocational colleges. All the children of our people attend secondary school. These are some of the chief causes for the steady growth in the GDR's economic power and for our social policy. Nobody can be unaware that the GDR today ranks among the ten major industrial nations in the world.

In developing our economic capacity, we rely on the growing intellectual potential of our country. This year we shall achieve 90 percent of the rise in productivity on the basis of science and technology. The comparative figure in 1975 was about 55 percent. We are constantly spending increasing amounts from state funds on promoting science and technology. In 1980 this sum will total M7.6 billion. That is more in a single year than was spent on research and development in the 1951-60 period.

Question: The prices for energy and other raw materials you buy from the Soviet Union are constantly increasing. Economists have calculated that the GDR has to export almost three times as many manufactured goods than in 1970 in order to be able to buy the energy, raw materials and food it needs.

Answer: I do not know to which economists you are referring. Since you are a serious person, I cannot suppose that you are quoting the so-called GDR watchers. If their forecasts had been fulfilled, the GDR would now be the world's least developed country. As you can see for yourself, that is not the case. On the cóntrary, the GDR is among the world's ten leading industrial nations.

Our trade with the Soviet Union benefits both sides and will this year exceed M45 billion, not to mention our many-sided cooperation in the scientific-technological field. That does not mean that we are not paying attention to trade with the West. Thanks to the GDR's integration in our alliance, thanks to the economic power of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we are independent of the capitalist world and cannot be blackmailed, and it has been so for some time.

Question: Is it true that, to produce high-grade goods at lower cost with less manpower and fewer raw materials your country needs Western technology to help pay for dearer imports?

Answer: As you know, we are not iconoclasts. The Leipzig fairs are always held in a climate of open-door trade. It is not at all clear who is supplying more plants to whom. The GDR is the world's second largest exporter of machine tools. The myth that only the West can achieve top performance has long been exposed.

Question: You recently visited some African countries. How were you received and what did you achieve in concrete terms?

Answer: Africa, it may well be said, embraced me and my party. We had an extremely cordial reception. I regard this as a sign of its firm ties with the GDR, which has always given solidarity and support to African nations in their freedom struggle. My meetings in Libya, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique, Ethiopia and at the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, attended by all the ambassadors of African states, as well as my meetings with liberation movement leaders in southern Africa have confirmed my conviction that Africa is a continent seeking new shores.

I have been asked, and not by just a few sides, why such a cordial relationship has developed between the GDR and the African states and their statesmen. Some people may find that hard to understand. I believe that the cordial reception given by the nations of Africa to GDR leaders is due to the fact that there are no racial barriers between us. The peoples of Africa feel that we are meeting them man to man, on equal terms, and practicing solidarity. That is, if you like, a concrete result of our visits to some African countries. They have opened wide vistas for the development of our relations in the political, economic and cultural field.

Question: How do you assess your recent visit to Cuba and its results, particularly against the background of the situation in the Caribbean?

Answer: My second visit to the Republic of Cuba and the results of my exchange of views with Fidel Castro have further strengthened and deepened the excellent relations between and GDR and Cuba. As you know, we signed in Havana a treaty on friendship and cooperation. It defines the scope of our cooperation in various fields and runs beyond the turn of the century. At present we are assisting one another in developing the socialist society in our countries. My visit to Cuba took place in a tense world situation, which was also reflected in the Caribbean. In our talks Fidel Castro and I completely agreed that the provocations launched in recent months against socialist Cuba are part and parcel of a long-term attempt by certain imperialist circles to change the international balance of power and to undermine peace. In view of this fact we spoke out strongly for the continuation of detente, specifically military detente.

We were able to see on the spot how firmly the Cuban people are attached to their socialist state. The country has achieved significant progress in various spheres, in economy, education and culture, indeed everywhere in the everyday life of the people. Wherever we went we sensed the cordial friendship felt for the GDR on the "Freedom Isle." Many foreign commentators rightly saw this visit as a sign that revolutionary Cuba does not stand alone in defending its independence and freedom. It can at all times count on the solidarity and support of the entire community of socialist states. Those circles which constantly threaten Cuba should bear that in mind. Socialist Cuba will pursue its path as before.

Question: It may be said that the success of your recent negotiations with President Ceausescu is astonishing, beneficial for both states and of great international significance. What do you think?

Answer: It is true indeed that, as a result of our exchange of views, we achieved complete agreement on all basic questions of international relations. That is reflected in our joint statement. I would also refer specifically to the comprehensive measures which we are taking in order to enhance our economic cooperation in the period to 1985 to an unprecedented level.

Question: The GDR Government recently agreed with the French Government to open a French cultural center in Berlin. Do you consider a similar agreement with Great Britain possible?

Answer: The agreement to open a French cultural center in Berlin and a GDR cultural center in Paris is the result of a happy development of relations between France and the GDR. It is no secret if I tell you that, in our view, President of the French Republic Giscard d'Estaing is playing a major role in lessening tensions in Europe and beyond. That naturally affected the GDR Government's decision to conclude the agreement which you mentioned with the French Government.

Relations between the GDR and Great Britain are developing normally. Unfortunately they have not yet resulted in such a large measure of agreement on basic questions of bilateral and multilateral relations between France and the GDR. Given the further development of relations between the GDR and Great Britain, the opening of a British cultural center in Berlin and a GDR cultural center in London cannot be ruled out. We would be interested, bearing in mind these considerations, in exchanging cultural centers with other Western states, too.

Question: In what direction are state-church relations leading now and in the future?

Answer: Our socialist society offers security and a sense of belonging to every citizen, regardless of age and sex, philosophy and creed. It offers him a clear prospect and a chance to help fashion the future and to develop fully his abilities, talents and his personality. We are basing the development of the relationship between state and church on that promise. Equal rights and parity of esteem for all citizens, drawing them fully into the fashioning of the advanced socialist society, is the ruling norm in the GDR.

At my meeting with the Executive of the Evangelical Church leaderships in the GDR on 6 March 1978 I reaffirmed that. Freedom of worship in the GDR, given a clear separation of state and church, is guaranteed by the constitution and ensured in practice. In this sphere we are showing very great understanding and continue to adhere to it. The churches here have many opportunities to share in the work for the humanist aims of socialism and peace. We base ourselves on the participation of all citizens in the program of socialism, which is in the social and individual interest. That, I think, by and large describes the trend about which you enquired.

Question: At present only GDR citizens of retirement age are allowed to visit the FRG freely. Would you, in the interests of further improving relations between the two German states and as proof of the confidence and popularity your government enjoys with GDR citizens, consider extending permission to visit the FRG to younger age groups?

Answer: Grave obstacles on the FRG side go against more extensive arrangements of this kind. We have frequently called for their removal but have so far met with rejection. That applies above all to the recognition of GDR citizenship. We have meanwhile concluded consular treaties with 32 states, including Great Britain, France, the United States, Austria, Finland, Cyprus, Mexico and India. We have not yet reached that point with the FRG because it adheres to conceptions contrary to international law.

That makes it impossible to make headway in such spheres as judicial assistance, tourism and travel. But that does not prevent us from acting generously in compassionate matters. The figures about journeys in urgent family cases prove it. Already 1.5 million GDR citizens annually travel to Western countries. But our generosity is one matter, the other is that in the FRG, receiving financial subsidies from the state budget are the so-called regional refugee organizations which pursue their mischief-making. They assert what they call homeland rights in the GDR, the Polish People's Republic and the CSSR and openly proclaim revanchism.

If we had our way, things could be different. But as yet conditions in the Federal Republic clearly do not admit further steps.

Question: The unhappy division of Germany since the end of the last war was seen as an element of insecurity in Europe. But since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan it almost looks as if the contrary is the case. To what do you attribute that?

Answer: Your question implies things which, with the best will, are inconsistent. I hear for the first time that the division of Germany, which you mention, had been regarded as an element of insecurity in Europe. So far as I can recall, the Western powers, who in 1945 were deliberately heading for the division of Germany, always regarded it as an element of their security. The element of insecurity was caused by the failure to implement the Potsdam Agreement in the three Western occupation zones and the attendant rehabilitation of the bigwigs of the Third Reich.

From the outset we wanted the Potsdam Agreement to be implemented in all occupation zones, but the reactionary forces in the Western zones and their supporters feared a democratic discussion of such a renewal. They were afraid of the union of the German workers' movement, which after the war had also begun in the Western zones. They did not want an antifascist renewal but were bent on restoring the power of the concerns as well as militarism and on making people forget the experiences of World War II. Thus the FRG emerged as a separate state.

It was only too natural that, in view of such a development on German soil, the German Democratic Republic was founded over 30 years ago. Not just a few people in the Western countries describe the existence of the GDR in the center of Europe as a piece of good fortune. It obstructs all efforts at pushing the nations into the maelstrom of another world war. The fact is that the existence of two German states and the normalization of relations between them has a stabilizing effect on the situation in Europe.

Question: It is assumed that the FRG, by reason of its history, geography and national interests, has to pursue both a Western and Eastern policy. Do you agree that the same principle applies to the GDR?

Answer: The principles of our foreign policy are in line with the socialist character of our state. That is why the development of our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of our community and the implementation of our joint foreign policy aims are naturally in the foreground for us. Our activities designed to safeguard peace occupy a particularly important place. It is essentially a matter of creating the most favorable external conditions for socialist and communist development in our countries. We link that with solidarity with those states and peoples in the world who have liberated themselves nationally and socially or are still fighting for their liberation. Such a course is obviously in accord with the interests of all peoples.

Question: At your meeting with Chancellor Schmidt during President Tito's funeral, both of you formed the view that your two countries have a decisive role to play in the maintenance of peace and detente in Europe.

What concrete steps is the GDR taking now to preserve peace and detente in Europe?

Answer: By its peace policy the GDR seeks to help ensure that war shall never again start from German soil. That is a course in keeping with the essence of our socialist state, which does justice to the lessons of history. It is thus that we are making use of our foreign policy opportunities and working above all to advance military detente and disarmament. That is doubtless the central problem of securing peace on our continent. We are participating constructively in activities designed to convene a conference on military detente and disarmament and to speed preparations for this conference. I have already spoken about our steps along the lines of the European treaty system, specifically as regards GDR-FRG relations.

Question: Am I right in assuming that your government and Chancellor Schmidt's government share a desire to prevent international tensions from undermining the stability and detente achieved in Europe and that the relations between your government and Chancellor Schmidt's, for all their sensitivity, are warmer now than at any time since the creation of the two states?

Answer: Of course the relations between the GDR and the FRG are better than they were when they were founded. The question as to what has produced this change is superfluous. After all, in the last 10 years a system of treaties has been built up which, together with the Moscow and Warsaw treaties, the quadripartite agreement on Berlin (West) and the Helsinki Final Act, is proving very sturdy, particularly in view of the aggravated international situation. In spite of differences about various aspects of international developments, everything must be done so that Europe will remain a center of peace. It is not for me to interpret the policy of the FRG's federal chancellor. But evidently, and my recent meeting with Helmut Schmidt in Belgrade has shown that, there is agreement on this question.

Question: Do you assume that you will meet Chancellor Helmut Schmidt after the elections in the late autumn of this year?

Answer: As you know, Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and I agreed to meet in the GDR in due course. When that will be we have yet to agree. You will understand that, in view of this, I cannot yet speak about a date.

Question: The forthcoming meeting between you and Federal Chancellor Schmidt will surely have international significance. Would you like to say something about that?

Answer: I am reluctant to talk about the Germans' importance in world politics. Two world wars, started from German soil, have done too much harm for that. I think that the most important contribution FRG and GDR Germans can make to peace is to further normalize the relations between both German states, in accordance with international law, and to support all proposals which tend to reduce the present international tensions.

Question: Many people in Europe believe that the European situation will depend on the relations between you and Federal Chancellor Schmidt. What do you think?

Answer: The normalization of the relations between both German states is, as I said, as essential element of detente in Europe. If both sides respect sovereignty and independence in accordance with the treaties and observe the universal rules of international law, then this will positively influence the European situation. It may be noted that both Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and I, at the same time and completely independently, stated, in view of the aggravated international situation, that we wish to ensure that war shall never again start from German soil.

Question: Do you agree that the greatest achievements of Chancellor Schmidt and the Social Democratic Party in the FRG are detente and the considerably improved economic relations between the two German states?

Answer: It always takes at least two to achieve detente and improve economic relations. In concrete terms, it is clearly the case that progress both in detente and in GDR-FRG economic relations benefits both sides.

Question: Is it true that GDR interest in continued detente in Europe is mainly economic? Is not your economy hard hit by the current world economic crisis and does not any raising of the living standards of the people in the GDR essentially depend on the GDR expanding its trade with the West?

Answer: I have a great respect for worldwide trade and openly admit that I attach much importance to further raising the living standards of the people of the GDR, but the most important issue for mankind is to secure peace. Peace and socialism belong together. This awareness has entered the minds of our people. Peace benefits both the citizens of the socialist countries and the citizens of the nonsocialist states.

Besides, I would draw your attention to the fact that the GDR conducts 70 percent of its external trade with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Only 10 percent is accounted for by the developed capitalist states, including trade between the two German states. Our next 5-year plan provides for a further increase in trade with Western countries.

Question: How do you see the prospects of economic relations between the two German states?

Answer: Trade between the GDR and FRG is not doing badly. We can this year record a greater balance. If things go on as they are, we shall achieve in 1980 a volume of over M10 billion.

Question: Do you believe that Federal Chancellor Schmidt's recent trip to Moscow can separate the dialogue between the two German states from the world political crisis?

Answer: In my view, the issue is not separation but defusing the international situation. Naturally we are trying, together with our allies, to prevent the current international tensions affecting European relations. That would be a great tragedy. The policy of confrontation presently pursued by the United States must not be allowed to be transmitted to our continent. A normal situation on this continent is a vital issue for all Europeans, including the citizens of the FRG and GDR and their neighbors. As you know, we are in favor of preserving and consolidating all the positive features that, originating from Europe, have emerged in international relations in the course of recent years and of securing continued detente in the eighties as the dominant tendency in international affairs.

Question: What I and many West Germans like about the foreign policy of Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher is the determination of both men to show less consideration for the United States and to undertake stronger West German steps for disarmament and detente in Europe, without putting in question the FRG's membership in the NATO alliance. Shall we be able to expect the emergence of the same tendency in the GDR's policy toward the USSR and other states in the world?

Answer: Insofar as you interpret in your question the attitude of the FRG Government, I take note of it as your assessment.

The GDR is in complete agreement with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states in regard to basic aims and current questions. We are pursuing a jointly conceived and coordinated foreign policy. Among equal partners it is no problem at all for us that each has to discharge his responsibility and think hard in order to advance the common cause. In this we represent both the GDR's national interests and those of our alliance. To look here for contradictions such as arise elsewhere from conditions of capitalist competition would be a waste of time.

Question: It is said that the Soviet Union's strategy consists in driving a wedge into the Western alliance by drawing West Germany away from the United States to a more neutral position and that this is a trap for Chancellor Schmidt.

Answer: This concoctiong clearly originates from NATO's poisonous kitchen. They have a department there which is run specifically to confuse world opinion.

Question: Do you agree that the GDR position consists in complete loyalty to the Warsaw Pact alliance under USSR leadership and that detente is not possible without a balance of military power?

Answer: The GDR, as you know, is firmly embedded in its alliance, and there is no reason to question its loyalty to its allies. We are in favor of keeping the military balance on a lower level. That is indeed a pillar of detente. That is why we so strongly oppose the attempts by certain NATO circles to gain superiority to the detriment of the socialist states, for such attempts imperil peace. We proceed from the assumption that the maintenance of the balance requires that the arms race should be stopped.

Question: What do you say about the fear of the Russians felt by West German citizens (who believe that their security depends entirely on the United States), to which a serious apprehension is slowly being added to the effect that the United States is not reliable in defending Europe or could easily stumble into an avoidable war?

Answer: Your question links two things which do not belong together. The citizens of the Federal Republic have no reason to fear the Soviet Union. The USSR threatens neither the FRG nor any other state. But it is no secret that anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda waged for decades has created havoc among large segments of the Federal Republic's population. Many can no longer distinguish truth from lies.

You say that the fear is growing among FRG citizens that the United States could easily stumble into an avoidable war. Such a worry is evidently not unfounded. Some people in the FRG are also rightly asking themselves why the proposed deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe should enhance their security. It gives rise to the suspicion that certain forces in the United States want the retaliatory blow, in the event of a military conflict, to hit FRG territory and not U.S. territory. I have complete understanding for the resultant unease in the FRG.

Question: Do you believe that Europe can be preserved as an island of peace and detente while the United States and the USSR largely have to bear the burden of guarding its borders and protecting its vital links with markets and raw materials?

Answer: When I said that Europe is to remain a center of peace, I meant that we should preserve here the results of detente, continue detente and thus help improve the international climate overall. How far that is possible depends largely on world opinion.

The problem of the military protection of raw materials regions and markets exists neither for the Soviet Union nor for the other Warsaw Pact states. That is a mode of thinking typical of the Western world.

As for the countries of West Europe, I believe that their raw materials supplies would be best ensured if they maintained normal relations on terms of equality with the raw material producing countries, relations free from colonialism and imperialist arrogance. One can only share the view of those political observers who believe that the deployment of U.S. forces to the Persian Gulf as well as threats and blackmailing maneuvers against the oil-producing and commodity-supplying countries are the exact opposite of what is required in the interest of peaceful international economic cooperation.

Question: What do you think of the view that many leading personages in the world and well-informed citizens have of late seriously lost their belief in the ability of the Soviet Union and the United States to negotiate sensibly along the lines of maintaining detente and peace in the world?

Answer: There is not the slightest reason for losing belief in the Soviet Union's ability to negotiate sensibly in the spirit of peace. The very prudence with which the USSR leadership reacted in recent months to a multiplicity of provocations and challenges exemplifies their high sense of responsibility for the destiny of mankind and their persistent pursuit of peace and detente. Just imagine for one moment that the Soviet Union had proceeded with the same recklessness as the world has experienced in these months from other quarters. Indeed, there has been no lack of challenges.

Almost countless are the Soviet Union's proposals to reach constructive solutions of pending problems in all spheres of international relations--solutions which serve peace. Only recently Leonid Ilich Brezhnev stated before the CPSU Central Committee the firm resolve not to spare any effort in order to preserve detente and all the good things produced by the seventies, to achieve a switch to disarmament, defend the right of nations to a free and independent development and to preserve and strengthen peace.

Anyone who may have believed in the ability of the United States to negotiate sensibly in the spirit of preserving detente and peace will doubtless feel misgivings at Washington's current political practice. Can you call it sensible to pursue a doctrine of confrontation which threatens to jeopardize everything achieved over many years by negotiations and agreements in favor of peace? The problems of the contemporary world indeed are not uncomplicated. In our view, what matters is to go for political settlements and progress along the lines of peaceful coexistence.

Question: Is there any sign, in your opinion, that the Soviet Union is ready for compromise in regard to arms control or Afghanistan?

Answer: There is more than a sign. With regard to arms control, I refer only to the SALT II agreement. Its achievement reflects the constructive attitude of the Soviet Union and its readiness for compromise when the issue is to make progress for peace. Then there is the Soviet Union's readiness to enter into preliminary negotiations on SALT III even before SALT II is ratified. I think that is an important signal. The problem is to understand this signal and likewise to show readiness for an understanding. In the case of Afghanistan the possibility of a political settlement exists. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have already made their proposals. The GDR supports these proposals.

Question: Do you have possible ideas how the crisis created by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could be settled?

Answer: First of all I would tell you that it is not a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan but the curbing of imperialist acts of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Soviet assistance with a limited contingent of troops was rendered in conformity with the Soviet-Afghan friendship treaty and Article 51 of the UN Charter. So much for clarification. In conformity with our allies, we are in favor of a political settlement of the problem. We have expressed that in the Warsaw declaration. The crucial thing is for the nondeclared war, armed aggression and indeed all forms of external hostile activity against the government and people of Afghanistan to stop. It must be reliably guaranteed that subversive actions from abroad will not be resumed.

It will be recalled that the USSR by agreement with the Afghan Government has meanwhile withdrawn a part of its military continent from Afghanistan. If a crisis has occurred at all in this region, then those who send armed forces from abroad into the country bear the responsibility. It is they who stubbornly refuse to support a political settlement with full respect for the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Question: Do you agree with Chancellor Schmidt's policy of linking further steps to reduce tensions in Europe with the Soviet Union's consent to a withdrawal from Afghanistan?

Answer: Whoever makes conditions for steps to reduce tensions in Europe only erects artificial obstacles. However, I am not sure that you correctly interpret the attitude of the Federal Chancellor of the FRG.

Question: What is your opinion of Franz Josef Strauss, the opposition candidate for the chancellorship, who clearly rejects Chancellor Schmidt's policy of detente with vigor?

Answer: I do not propose to interfere in the FRG election campaign.

Question: What in your opinion would be the consequences for detente in general and GDR-FRG relations in particular if Herr Strauss, contrary to all expectations, were to win the elections and would you be prepared to meet him if he became chancellor?

Answer: We are in favor of a policy of peaceful coexistence of states of different social systems. It is the sovereign affair of the people of the FRG to determine who is to head their government.

Question: Do you approve of the recent statement by the European Economic Community in its intention to be involved in a Middle East settlement and specifically its insistence on including the PLO in the process of negotiations and would you comment on that?

Answer: The majority of the Arab states and the PLO rejected the statement by the West European community on the Middle East question which you cite as questionable and basically unacceptable. It is certainly to be welcomed if individual West.. European states support the position that a settlement of the Middle East question is possible only if there is full recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent state of their own. But such a position is absent from the statement you mentioned.

Question: Since the founding of the GDR, the SED and the government keep affirming that they have radically broken with the German past and that the models and heroes of history are to be seen in the organizers of the peasant risings, the classic communist thinkers and the martyrs of the communist movement.

For what reason has the GDR recently turned two Germans, bourgeois and noble, the religious leader Luther and General Clausewitz, into national heroes? The treatment these two great men of German and European history have recently been receiving in the GDR, including your personal commitment, is normally reserved to the heroes of the communist movement. As you know, General Clausewitz was an ardent supporter of the monarchy, while Martin Luther had for many years been vilified in the GDR as a betrayer of the rebellious peasants, and yet you recently presided at a meeting concerned with preparations to commemorate the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth in 1983.

Answer: As I gather from your question, you have made a thorough study of fiction and truth in the German past and present. The German workers' movement has always had a living relationship with history. It may be said that Marx's and Engel's universe of discourse would be inconceivable without their creative absorption of all the values that mankind had produced in the realm of ideas.

We cultivate not only revolutionary socialist traditions, of course, and you can understand that the legacy of Thomas Muentzer and the revolutionary struggles of the peasants in the 16th century and during the 1848 revolution in Germany are most precious to us. That applies above all to the legacy of the classics of our ideology, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and the rich tradition of the German and international revolutionary workers' movement.

In paying tribute to the historic achievement of Martin Luther and Carl von Clausewitz, we are fully in line with the traditions of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the German workers' movement and our history since 1945. We by no means ignore the limitations of these and other personalities of German history, their negative features, contradictory conduct or the tragic history in which they were embroiled. It benefits our world view to comprehend the objective, real course of history, its total dialectic. That includes a vision of the greatness and limitations of outstanding historical personages.

Question: Am I correct in saying that the breakthrough in this respect was the result of the book by Frau Ingrid Mittenzwei, her biography of Frederick the Great? Are you not running the risk that the GDR and the FRG are celebrating to some extent the same national heroes of the past?

Answer: That is for us no question of risk but a question of our basic attitude toward German history. V. I. Lenin, the inspired continuer of the work of Marx and Engels, said in a speech to youth in 1920 that communism assimilates all the values human society has created. One could not, he said, become a communist without assimilating the knowledge produced by mankind, the sum total of the knowledge which resulted in communism. It follows that we approach history and its personages very differently from the FRG.

Ingrid Mittenzwei's biography of Frederick the Great, a work which I greatly prize, without feeling committed to every sentence, is, from this view, no 'breakthrough' but the result of our approach to our legacy. It includes Prussian history. As you rightly remark, there are statues of Clausewitz, Scharnhorst, Yorck and Gneisenau in the center of our capital, Berlin. Perhaps Bauch's monument of Frederick the Great may be added before long. It would round off, as it were, the rebuilt Linden forum in the center of Berlin. All that should surprise no one. In every German land there have been progressive and reactionary things in the past. The statues were mostly created by famous sculptors. They are part and parcel of the culture of our people. We do not run the risk of celebrating the same national heroes as the FRG, if only for the reason that you will look in vain for institutions here which bear the names of former Nazi bigwigs.

U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN GULF AREA, INDIAN OCEAN VIEWED

DW281935 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1710 GMT 23 Aug 80

[Manfred Klein commentary of the day]

[Text] Good evening, dear listeners. It was almost in passing that an AFP correspondent disseminated the news that the United States has ended its military presence in the Gulf and Indian Ocean areas. The occurrence itself, however, is anything but casual. The news much rather has brought home again what for months now has been carried on intensively but without any propagandistic accompaniment, that is to say rather unnoticed: the deployment of American naval units in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, and the massive appearance of American ships, aircraft and soldiers in the area. The question must be raised again as to what purpose this concentration of military forces is to serve in an area that remote from U.S. coasts, and what they actually want to protect there: protection from Soviet expansion, which, as is known, has always prodded the reveries of anti-Soviet professionals. Thus, they already envisaged a Soviet naval base in Madagascar and the president of that country had to deny it with all clarity. They already envisaged a Soviet base on one of the Seychelles islands and the president of the Seychelles, too, had to deny this plainly. In addition, he invited for an inspection Western politicians who then had to say they had not seen what they expected.

Hence, the extremely dangerous military developments in the area of the Indian Ocean have been conjured up--as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen now has stated in an appeal to all Arab as well as nonaligned states--through the endeavors of the United States aimed at achieving predominance over the international waterways in the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. U.S. policy, it says, was aimed at military and direct interference in the countries of the region. This means, dear listeners, that the U.S. military presence cannot be separated at all from the processes underway in those states where U.S. warships are cruising off their coasts. As different as the structures of these states and their political and social level of development may be, most of them are against imperialist hegemony, and progressive forces as well as national liberation movements are advancing from the Near and Middle East to the south of Africa. They are the ones whose goals are at stake. They are being threatened and they are to be intimidated.

The naval deployment and the search for new military bases, the establishment of a Washington-Tel Aviv-Johannesburg axis are to support the neocolonialist policy. No, they say, what actually matters is to secure the oil lanes and to see to it that nobody touches the vital liquid. But how are the lanes of the oil vessels expected to be safe if they are being threatened by only one thing--namely, by military axes, by triangles and quadrangles formed by American warships and their bases, with all the risks and danger to peace in the region and to free navigation. Pretexts everywhere burst into peices in the face of the facts. The real driving force lies in the nature of imperialism proper and in its bent for adventurism.

For this purpose $171.5 billion for armament will be allocated for the 1981 fiscal year and the amount will increase to more than $250 billion in 1985. Those responsible call it paying the price required for remaining the most powerful country of the world. How high is the price supposed to be that is to be paid by those affected by this policy? Raising this question means to answer it quite differently. The answer comprises the proposal of the Indian Ocean states that the area be turned into a zone of peace.

It was endorsed by the Warsaw Pact states in their declaration of 15 May and they at the same time pointed out that the intensified activities of the U.S. Navy in the Indian Ocean and the expansion of the military base system are absolutely at odds with the plan approved by the United Nations, which provides for turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. It also conjures up a threat to the security and independence of a large number of countries and entails the creation of new international hotbeds of tension. Thus, the Warsaw Pact states and the states of the Indian Ocean once again find themselves natural allies in regard to the question of all questions, namely the securing of peace.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND REPORTS KREIS AKTIV MEETINGS OF TEACHERS

AU271343 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 26 August 1980 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 2,400-word report on public education aktiv conferences held on 25 August in 219 GDR Kreise, headlined "Forward to the 10th SED Congress! All Our Knowledge and All Our Energy for the Strengthening of Our Republic, for Strengthening the Alliance With the Soviet Union and All Fraternal Socialist Countries, Against the U.S. and NATO Missile Policy, for a Policy of Peace and Security; GDR Schools Guarantee High Education and Equal Opportunity for All Children." The introductory paragraph reads as follows:

"Berlin (ND)--In 219 Kreise of our republic conferences of the public education aktivs were held yesterday. They were addressed on topical questions of GDR domestic and foreign policy by the first secretaries of the SED Kreis leaderships, who also elucidated the SED Central Committee decisions for the preparation of the 10th party congress. These party aktiv meetings and the reports and discussions reflected the determination to continuously implement the time-tested course of party and government for the benefit of the people. The positive results of the work performed since the Ninth SED Congress in the economic, political, socio-political, ideological and education policy field, the pride in what has been jointly achieved in our socialist, economically highly efficient state, where the schools guarantee an extensive education and equal chances for all children of the people, are proving a source of strength for this."

The report then carries short accounts of 14 of these conferences--including those held in Berlin-Lichtenberg, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Suhl, Gera, Leipzig, Erfurt, Rostock, Potsdam, Frankfurt (Oder) and Magdeburg--with summaries of speeches given on those occasions by Kreis first secretaries or other officials, including SED Central Committee Politburo member Kurt Naumann, who addressed the Berlin conference. According to these accounts, the topics discussed in the speeches--apart from school and education issues--were almost exclusively domestic matters such as the growing productive power of the GDR economy, the steady improvement in working and living conditions in the past few years, and achivements in the housing and school construction sectors.

Apart from several references to peace and the need to preserve and strengthen it, the only remark on a foreign policy topic mentioned in the report is that of a Neubrandenburg school party secretary, Sigrid Winkelmann, who "reported that the party leadership is training the comrades in revolutionary vigilance and supplies them with sound arguments, so that they can explain the causes for the exacerbation of the international situation by imperialism."

Remarks on peace included a statement by Politburo member Naumann: "Let us do everything to insure that this fine work by the pedagogs of our socialist fatherland, which is highly appreciated by our society, can also be carried on in the coming decades in peace at the side of the Soviet Union."

Walter Klotzbach, Magdeburg city district leadership secretary, declared: "The preservation and strengthening of peace and the further development of the socialist society in the 1980's are making the highest requirements on the political awareness and on the readiness for achievement of all our citizens."

Apart from the headline, the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND report does not contain any reference to the "U.S. and NATO Missile Policy."

AGREEMENT ON SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENTS SIGNED WITH COLLEGE

LD282342 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1759 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt, 28 Aug (ADN)--By 1985 60 percent of the product range of the sector under the Ministry of General Engineering, Agricultural Machinery and Vehicle Building will be replaced by new or improved developments. This is stated in a skeleton agreement on scientific-technical cooperation during the 1981-85 period which was signed on Thursday by the minister of general and agricultural engineering and vehicle construction, Guenther Kleiber, candidate Politburo member of the SED Central Committee, and the rector of the Swickau engineering college, Prof Franz Meiszner.

"This close cooperation is an important factor in ensuring the more rapid and effective practical application of the most advanced scientific findings producing top-level products and technologies," Guenther Kleiber stressed. The aim of the agreement was to translate into practice major projects of the science and technology plans of the combines and of the college's research program. Among the subjects covered by the agreement are the development of fuel-saving measures, preparation for the use of industrial automation and the development of efficient assembly processes.

BRIEFS

DAMAGE TO FORESTRY--Damages caused to GDR forestry by wet snow in April and by thunderstorms in June amount to some 7 million cubic meters of lumber. In addition to immediate losses the normal forest structure has been destroyed on some 200,000 hectares. Rudolf Ruethnick, deputy minister of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry and forestry master general, stated that all windfallen lumber should be processed by the end of 1981. The SED and the government have mobilized thousands of helpers for the task and by 28 July some 748,000 cubic meters of lumber had been processed. At the same time forestry has fulfilled its share of the unhewn timber procurement plan by 102.7 percent. Axes and saws are the most important tools and thousands of these as well as protective clothing had to be supplied additionally. The state forestry enterprises in Oelsnitz, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Schleiz, Gera Bezirk, have been hit particularly hard by the snowfalls and up to five and six times the normal quantities of timber must be processed there. Forestry workers are being assisted by more than 10,000 assistants from the most varied sectors--administrative employees, citizens from the communes and mainly youths. [East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 13 Aug 80 p 5 AU]

FRG PARTICIPATION IN LEIPZIG FAIR--Some 530 FRG companies will participate in the forthcoming Leipzig fall fair with a varied offer of capital and consumer goods. Offers of the chemical sector will be at the focus of the fair exhibits, with large combines such as Bayer, Basf, Hoechst, Degussa, Huels chemical works, Unichema-Chemie, Dynamit Nobel and Deutsche Babcock being represented. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16-17 Aug 80 p 2 AU]

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS JAGIELSKI SPEECH, POLISH SITUATION

LD282226 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Szabolcs Szilagyi Warsaw dispatch]

[Text] The radio and TV speech by Deputy Premier Jagielski, head of the government commission negotiating with strikers' representatives in Gdansk, was the event which attracted the greatest interest and attention during the last 24 hours--or more exactly, in the past few days. The speech, which summed up the view expressed by the commission about the 21-point list of claims, was transmitted by Gdansk regional radio and then, in response to requests from all parts of the country, it was repeated several times on Warsaw radio during the course of the day.

The majority of demands and claims, which concern the most important grievances and everyday living conditions of the workers, are positively appraised by the commission. "It has determined the methods and time limits of the solution," said Mieczyslaw Jagielski, who then spoke about those issues the realization of which would be contrary to the principles and interests of People's Poland. He pointed out, among other things, that censorship is in operation not against freedom of speech but to serve the vital interests of the state and society. Thus it is active, for example, in defense of state, military and economic secrets, to counter the dissemination of opinions hostile to the Polish People's Republic, and also in the interests of the alliance system and of the sentiments of believers and nonbelievers.

He also noted that the demand concerning the trade unions stands in the way of a full agreement and this prolongs the strikes and the talks. We agree, he stressed, that the trade unions have not carried out their tasks in a suitable way with regard to protecting the workers' interests. For this reason there has justly arisen a crisis of confidence in the trade unions. However, we are certain that this crisis can be overcome within the existing organizational framework of the movement.

In conclusion the deputy premier went on the say the following: We are fully aware of the fact, because we can feel it, that the Gdansk workers negotiating with us have--just as we have--objectives that are designed to serve the interests of the homeland, of socialist Poland. We, all of us together, desire to achieve the best and wisest solution so that, at last, we can again bring about what is most important: that is, calm, honest and better organized work which alone can create for all of us normal living conditions, and strength and increasing prestige in international forums for the state, said Mieczyslaw Jagielski.

According to reports received in the later afternoon, the strikes are continuing in the coastal towns. Debates aimed at solving the social and economic crisis are in progress in a lively way in almost all the country's enterprises.

NEPSZABADSAG on Situation

AU290942 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 28 August on page 2 carries a 300-word unattributed report, entitled "From the World Press; TRYBUNA LUDU: The Dividing Line," on the article by Ryszard Wojna in the 27 August issue of Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU "analyzing the situation on the basis of Sunday's [24 August] plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee."

The bulk of the report is devoted to the plenary session's "conclusions" about issues that can be discussed and those that "cannot be subject to debate" in the dialogue between the party and the workers class and society as a whole. It notes at the end that the PZPR plenum "most resolutely condemned the activity of antisocialist forces, which, exploiting the mood of the workers class, are fomenting dissatisfaction for objectives alien to socialist Poland."

IBUSZ SIGNS AGREEMENT WITH POLISH TOURIST OFFICE

LD282204 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] The Hungarian and Polish foreign tourism organizations want to further expand organized tourism between the two countries.

This was one of the statements contained in the long-term agreement initialed by representatives of IBUSZ [Touring, Traveling and Purchase Company] and the Polish tourist office in Budapest today. In the future they both want to exploit ever better the opportunities available in the periods before and after the high season, and will organize more professional trips, too.

CENTRAL CONTROL OFFICIALS HOLD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

LD290502 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] A national conference of central control officials has begun in Pecs. In his paper State Secretary Jozsef Szakali noted that in the present economic situation there is an even greater need for bringing to light contradictions and shortcomings appearing in the process of realizing our plans. The chairman of the Central People's Control Committee pointed out with regard to immediate tasks that thrift in the use of materials and energy must become a part of public thinking. He warned that the following of the fluctuations in world market prices, which was considered desirable, must not lead to unjustified price increases and should not harm the interests of consumers.

NEPSZABADSAG REVIEWS PUBLIC COMPLAINTS SYSTEM

LD281914 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Budapest, 28 Aug (MTI)--The Central People's Control Committee (CPCC) of Hungary has examined the experience so far of the implementation of a law adopted three years ago on disposal of reports and complaints of public interest. NEPSZABADSAG carries an article in its Thursday issue by Dr. Laszlo Szabo, head of the CPCC's office for reports of public interest, about a survey embracing the entire country.

"In the foregoing years people have shown a critical approach to happenings around them: activities of enterprises and cooperatives and behaviour of leaders, managers. They would not leave it uncommented if they come across some abuse of power, carelessness or other irregularities. Most of the reports lodged related to agricultural and trade sectors, or to local councils and other organs operating on public funds. For years a prominent place has been taken by reports complaining against attitudes contrary to socialist management principles. These complaints mainly involve violation of management or financial discipline or irregularities involving documents. The people lodging the reports very often criticize individual--primarily manager's behaviour if opposed to socialist public thinking. Sometimes they are sore about the infringement of the population's interests, or deficiencies in goods supply and services," writes the author.

On occasions it is not just one person, but an entire collective, workers of an enterprise, socialist brigade, or cooperative farm members who bring to light acts that hurt the interests of not only a limited group but of the entire national economy.

The CPCC's survey has revealed that pleas, suggestions made following reports of public interest have been generally fruitful: In most of the cases the authorities concerned adopted suitable resolutions and measures to rectify the drawbacks, mistakes. Besides, wherever necessary, the negligent persons and those found abusing authority were taken to task.

It should be pointed out here that the law under discussion ensures protection to those lodging reports. Though not frequently, but this protection was needed in a few cases. The CPCC's examination reveals that in a year such defence had to be provided on 18-20 occasions. The NEPSZABADSAG article goes on to write that the social and political damage caused by such cases cannot be overlooked. That is why the People's Control administers such affairs with keen attention. Legal protection was extended to all those who deserved it after lodging reports.

The People's Control organs follow with attention the disposal of reports, suggestions and complaints submitted at other organs as well. The CPCC survey established that though leaders of local state organs, enterprises and cooperatives are aware of the legal provisions, the disposal and investigation of reports, suggestions and complaints of public interest are not always done according to the law modified three years ago, but rather according to the earlier law. As such those political, social and legal interests are realized only in part which depend on an organized and uniform application of the law.

BRIEFS

NEW ENVOY TO UN--Budapest, 25 Aug (MTI)--MTI reports from New York: Ambassador Pal Racz, head of the permanent UN mission of the Hungarian People's Republic, presented his credentials on Monday to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, secretary-general of the United Nations. On the occasion the secretary-general held cordial talks with the new Hungarian ambassador to the UN. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 25 Aug 80 LD]

GASTROENTERITIS SUBSIDING--"The number of people who have fallen ill from polluted drinking water is estimated at approximately 1,000 in Nagykanizsa. Up to now, 280 patients have required hospital treatment, but their number is becoming less and less. In the last few days, 116 have been discharged as cured. Also the number of people on sick pay has decreased." In view of the imminent beginning of the school year, public health organs have initiated the screening of the approximately 1,500 people employed at schools, kindergartens and day nurseries. [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Aug 80 p 8 AU]

INTERPRESS DENIES GIEREK 'LIKELY TO LOSE POST'

WA281637 London REUTER in English 1607 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug 28, REUTER--The official Polish news agency INTERPRESS denied today that communist party leader Edward Gierek was likely to lose his post over the two-week strike by workers along the Baltic coast.

INTERPRESS was reacting to strong rumors in Warsaw that Mr Gierek might be replaced by former Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski. Officials in the capital also said they believed Mr Olszowski might take over.

However, the INTERPRESS denial apparently made talk of Mr Gierek's resignation premature even though his position seemed to have weakened.

Mr Olszowski, an outspoken critic of Mr Gierek, was appointed ambassador to East Germany after being dropped from the Politburo in February. But he was brought back into the Politburo last week in the government shakeup in which Prime Minister Edward Babiuch was dismissed.

REPORTAGE ON GDANSK EVENTS, TALKS CONTINUE

Government Commission Report

LD281752 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1415 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] The entire press media today carried an extensive report on the government commission which is holding talks with the Interfactory Strike Committee in Gdansk. The report sets out the stand of the commission concerning the major demands submitted by the strikers to the authorities.

It is worthwhile to familiarize oneself with this report and that is why I will deal with the most important questions contained in this document. Concerning the demand for an increase of the basic wage of every employee by Z2,000 per month to compensate for the price increase to date, the commission raises the question whether this demand is realistic and just since it applies to each of the 12 million people employed in the socialized economy. Is the Z2,000 needed in the same way by someone who earns Z8,000-10,000 and someone who earns Z3,000. It is clear that this is not so.

At this juncture I will quote a passage from the extensive PAP communique which stated that the government is working on a program for a gradual pay increase encompassing all trade groups. Work on precepts for cost of living compensation is also in progress. The most difficult issue rests in the question: to whom, how much and for what? The draft for compensation precepts will be submitted to a public debate.

The commission agreed with the demand concerning the implementation of full supplies of food to the domestic market. However, it considers that the question calls for some elucidations and questions directed to public opinion.

The problem of meat: Should one only [word indistinct] with surplus? What meat surplus can there be in our difficult situation when we are experiencing shortages? To alleviate somewhat the most acute shortages, we are already going to import a certain amount of meat this year.

Regarding the introduction of rationing for meat and meat products until the market situation is under control, this demand is fully justified in the existing situation. But its implementation is extremely difficult, primarily for technical reasons. Meat is not sugar which can be collected without any complications. The system for meat rationing can by itself be very costly and the result must by no means be universally accepted. One can, however, examine this method as well.

One could, for example, distribute the basic allotment through worker's and social coupons while the rest would be sold on the market at prices which would balance supply and demand, thus counteracting the black market and profiteering. It would be necessary to agree that very soon the authorities will submit some concepts concerning this problem. These should be drafted in a number of variants. Thus, the community will be able to voice its views.

Let us recall at this stage that the government confirmed yet again yesterday the decision on freezing prices for basic foodstuffs and for meat and its by products, until next fall.

Regarding the demand for the liquidation of sales for exchangeable currencies in internal export, the government commission points out that in Poland a large number of people possess such currencies, having received them from abroad from families [words indistinct] and so forth. If there is no possibility of making purchases with these currencies on the spot in Poland, this money can only be used abroad. Losses would be incurred not only by those possessing foreign currencies who would pay for goods purchased directly abroad more than [words indistinct] since in addition the entire profit from the sale would be transferred abroad. Under the current system, the foreign currency profits from sales in internal export--and these profits are not insignificant--are being passed on to the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services for the purchase of goods needed most by the domestic market. In this manner we have on many occasions been buying meat and other foods.

On the other hand, the demand for the withdrawal from sale for foreign currencies of goods produced domestically is justified and easily implemented. This issue has already been discussed and these goods will gradually disappear from the Pewex shelves. A decision will be adopted concerning the acceleration of this process and the immediate withdrawal of domestic goods from sales in internal export.

The demand for the selection of top personnel according to qualifications and not party affiliation is justified. It is necessary to demand from candidates for leading positions a high degree of responsibility and discipline regarding both vocational and social discipline, as well as the ability to organize work efficiently and to be in charge of groups of employees and to shape socialist interhuman relations.

Another question is the assessment of individual people. There are instances when careerists--people who consider, first of all, their private interests and who cannot establish satisfactory relations with their subordinates--remain in their jobs. The party carried out a constant evaluation in this sphere and draws the appropriate conclusions.

The commission has agreed that the demand for the universal lowering of the pension age to 50 for women and 55 for men is impossible to implement at this time. It contains internal contradictions and is unrealistic. It is difficult for example to imagine that many of those concerned would accept it.

Another problem is the levelling of pensions originating from the old portfolio and pensions granted currently. Decisions on that score have already been made.

The demand concerning the improvement of health services which would ensure full medical care for workers is justified. Quite rightly this means improved supplies of medicines and medical equipment, and the construction and expansion of health service buildings as well as an efficient and accessible functioning of these facilities.

The next demands refer to the ensuring of an adequate number of places in nurseries and the introduction of maternity leave, payable for a period of 3 years for the upbringing of children. The commission adopted the attitude that these demands merge together and that both are justified and it is imperative that they should be resolved.

The commission considered as justified the demand for the shortening of the period of waiting for accomodation. In many factories a demand for a 5-day work week was submitted. This would mean that all Saturdays would be free. They listed here the example of some nonsocialist countries. The resolutions of the eighth party congress recommended the drafting of a program for a further shortening of working hours and before the end of the year it will be submitted to the Sejm for acceptance.

Regarding the next demand the government commission contends that the freedom of expression in print and publications guaranteed by the constitution--which no one has any doubts about--has for some time been the source of anxiety in the sphere of [words indistinct].

Concerning the demands that the mass media publish the news about the establishment of the Interfactory Strike Committee as well as its demands, the commission believes that the communique on the beginning of talks with the strikers should solve this problem. It is being considered that the working man is more interested in the results of mutual agreements which, we are deeply convinced, will be reached.

The commission is in full agreement with the contents of the demand which refers to the embarking on realistic activity designed to [words indistinct] through the publication of full information on the socioeconomic situation and to make it possible for all social groups and strata to participate in the debate on the program of reforms.

Important divergencies of attitude exist on the demand concerning the acceptance of free trade unions independent of the party and employers. The government commission has stressed that the activities of trade unions were discussed with the strike committees in a very serious manner. There is no doubt that the unions should better and more efficiently represent the interests of employees and defend their rights. Second, they should work out methods and means designed to counteract the shaping of conflicts and learn to efficiently resolve conflicts emerging in work establishments.

Third, trade unions should have greater influence in the formation of social policy, including pay policy and the standard of living. The following factors should aid partnership negotiations between the trade unions and administration: the change of the trade union bill--the draft will be assessed by workers and before its adoption by the Sejm the draft will undergo broad discussion. Trade unions will conduct, independently of the government, research into cost of living increases, and thus will negotiate pay increases for individual professional groups. Also, according to demands put forward by workers, the bill on workers self-management will be altered. The draft bill has entered the final stage of preparation and will soon be ready for discussion at work enterprises.

All of this does not close, but on the contrary, opens the road for further changes in the operation of trade unions. However, it must be discussed calmly and in a matter of fact manner, and must not be imposed on work forces from outside.

As far as the security of strikers and persons aiding them is concerned, participation in strikes or assistance to them will not bring any consequences, with the exception of deeds violating legal regulations in force in People's Poland, including robbery, damage to property, the use of force, and so forth.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are the basic questions contained in the PAP report on the government commission's attitude toward the demands of the striking workers in Gdansk.

Jagielski-Walesa Talks 28 August

LD281650 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Excerpt] At 1100 another round of talks began between the government commission led by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski and the Presidium of the Interfactory Strike Committee led by Lech Walesa. This morning's talks dealt with the second, third and fourth points of the workers' demands. The topics discussed included freedom of speech, press, religion and observance of the law.

At about 1300 the morning session ended. The afternoon talks were announced for 1700, that is in several minutes. The subject to be discussed will be the first point of the demands--trade union business.

'Narrowing of Views' Noted

LD290802 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0434 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Excerpts] Yesterday at the Gdansk shipyard a new round of talks took place between the government commission for workers' problems and matters concerning the Gdansk region.

As a result of the discussion, which was conducted in a commonsense and constructive tone, a narrowing of views took place. It was decided to entrust special working groups with the task of working out the details in this field. These groups will begin their work in the afternoon.

Breakoff of Negotiations

WA282300 London REUTER in English 2144 GMT 28 Aug 80

[By Colin McIntyre]

[Text] Gdansk, Poland, Aug 28, REUTER--Strikers in northern Poland whose job action is beginning to hit the entire national economy broke off peace talks here tonight and authorities in Warsaw said the situation was fast getting out of hand.

The Gdansk strikers, who have paralyzed ports along the Baltic coast and the region's industry for 15 days, said they would not resume talks unless the government gave in on the key issue of free trade unions.

In Warsaw, the editor of the official INTERPRESS news agency told foreign newsmen the authorities had decided the situation could not be allowed to continue much longer.

Miroslaw Wojciechowski's brief statement was seen as the strongest warning so far to the strikers.

He said authorities were now convinced the strikers were led by "anti-socialist and extremist elements."

"The situation is getting more complicated every day. The number of enterprises which are not working is increasing," Mr Wojciechowski said. "The number of factories where work is being interrupted because of shortages of material is also growing," he added. "The present situation cannot go on much longer. The situation is every serious."

Mr Wojciechowski said the government commission led by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski, had gone a long way in recognizing the grievances of the strikers. "But there is no visible progress," he added.

He acknowledged the talks were stalled because of deadlock over the union question, saying demands for free trade unions were being pressed by anti-socialist and extremist elements.

"We are observing that certain pressure is being put on workers who do not accept these demands," he said.

Mr Wojciechowski finished his statement abruptly and left the room without accepting questions.

A government team had been due to meet leaders of the Interfactory Strike Committee, representing some 400 enterprises, in the Lenin shipyard today.

29 August Talks Postponed

NC291219 Paris AFP in English 1211 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Text] Gdansk, 29 Aug (AFP)--Negotiations here between the Baltic coast strike committee and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski were postponed by authorities a few minutes ahead of a meeting scheduled for noon today, the committee announced.

"The government is doing everything it can to delay the talks," commented one of the strike leaders, Bogdan Lis. "More and more enterprises are on strike in the country. We were ready to appeal against the spread of strikes but that is impossible because of this attitude of the government."

A delegate from the Silesian coal fields announced that three mines and two factories there with a total of 200,000 workers have gone on strike and set up their own joint strike committee.

He said he was conveying that committee's support to the Gdansk strike committee but he disavowed "anti-socialist elements."

Officials informed the Gdansk strike committee they were not ready to negotiate as long as sub-committees for both sides had not specified certain details concerning the main unsatisfied demand--for "free unions."

The two sides reportedly were in agreement on all issues except that one in negotiations here yesterday.

(In Moscow, the unofficial Soviet Union "SMOT" made public a letter of support for the Polish strikers and their demands for freedom of unions, politics and religion.)

(Copies of the letter handed to foreign news correspondents concluded: "We bow down to your firmness and your courage.")

Party's Role Acknowledged

LD291038 Hamburg DPA in German 1004 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Excerpt] Gdansk/Warsaw, 29 Aug (DPA)--The group of experts called in by the Gdansk strike committee last night signed a declaration acknowledging the leading role of the communist party in Poland. It was learned from strike committee quarters that a representative of the government commission had placed before the experts the paper acknowledging the communist party as the only political party in Poland. With one exception, the representatives of the strikers within the group of experts signed the declaration. The group of experts had been in discussion with representatives of the government on the trade union issue all day Thursday.

Last night the sociologist Jadwiga Staniszkis resigned from the group as she had refused to sign the declaration.

JAGIELSKI CRITICIZES FOREIGN REPORTERS' PRESENCE IN SHIPYARD

LD282036 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 2000 GMT 28 Aug 80

[From the "Echo" Program]

[Text] Deputy Premier Jagielski, the Polish Government's chief negotiator, criticized the workers today for allowing foreign journalists, Staffan Ekendal of "Echo" for example, to report from inside the Gdansk shipyard. He said he believed that Poland's problems should be discussed only in the Polish press. There are said to be approximately 200 foreign journalists in the Gdansk shipyard right now.

SZCZECIN VOIVODSHIP SOCIOECONOMIC AKTIV HELD

Barcikowski at Conference

LD281626 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Today in Szczecin there was a conference of the voivodship's socioeconomic aktiv, with the participation of the government commission and its chairman Deputy Premier Kazimierz Barcikowski.

The conference discussed the current sociopolitical situation in the Szczecin Voivodship. At the end of the conference, the floor was taken by First Secretary of the voivodship committee Janusz Brych. We will acquaint you with the speech by Janusz Brych in today's editions of KRONIKA and in tomorrow's "Studio Baltyk."

Today the commission of experts began work on the problem of the legal interpretation of Point 1 of the published demands. Members of the government commission are: Professor Adam Lopatka, director of the State and Law Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Zbigniew Salwa, specialist in the field of labor law at Warsaw University; and Dr Stanislaw (Paniak), member of the voivodship board of the Association of Polish Lawyers in Szczecin. On behalf of the Interfactory Strike Committee, the meeting is being participated in by lawyer Miroslaw (Kwiatkowski), lawyer Andrzej (Wybranowski), legal adviser Andrzej (Fiszelnicki), and factory comptroller Mieczyslaw (Gruda).

Brych Remarks on Local Situation

LD290906 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Text] Yesterday a meeting of socioeconomic activ was held at the voivodship party headquarters. Janusz Brych, first secretary of the voivodship party committee, who chaired the meeting, said among other things: The strike in Szczecin and the voivodship has been going on for 11 days. The situation has become dramatic, Szczecin is paralyzed, streetcars and buses are not running, city cleaning services are not working, and problems in food supplies have appeared.

In the roads and ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie Polish and foreign ships are waiting to unload 276,000 tons of cargo, including grain and food, fodder for cattle, and various perishable goods. Losses are colossal and are growing every day. Szczecin inhabitants are feeling them more and more, and the whole country is beginning to feel the effects of Szczecin being paralyzed.

We are grateful to the workers of health services and teachers, doctors, transport workers, particularly railwaymen, home trade workers, workers in commerce, municipal workers, especially gas, power, water and sewage workers. We cordially thank workers in all those enterprises, who understand the need to correct many things in our fatherland but who have nevertheless been working. They are producing concrete material goods, concrete products which are necessary for the everyday life of Szczecin inhabitants, and which help the families live through difficult days for the city and the country.

On behalf of all of us, I would especially like to thank farmers who have been toiling from dawn to dusk to provide us with food, and who have also been bothered by many problems and difficulties.

In recent days we have noticed a number of negative signs like the speculative sale of foodstuff, and the abuse of the situation by some dishonest people. In the prestrike period, and during the 11 days of strike we have been doing everything possible to ensure that the city and the voivodship should function in a normal way.

In view of the signs of panic we have set in motion the emergency supply of goods which have been sold to the population. In the past 10 days wholesale stores have been delivering nearly 200 tons of food daily. This is nearly twice as much as normal. We have ensured efficient milk delivery, three times more bakery products have been supplied by Szczecin bakeries, and another 20 tons have been received from the voivodship and neighboring voivodships.

So far, works canteen and buffets have been operating as usual. Stocks of food are running low, there are increasing problems with the supply of essential goods.

Growing difficulties are putting us in a tragic situation. Today we cannot afford to wait any longer, the seriousness of the situation demands that all reasonable people demonstrate through deeds and not words their sense of responsibility for the fate of our city and the country.

The government commission continues its talks. Also the editorial team of the government commission and the MKS [Interfactory Strike Committee] are working to formulate the final draft of individual demands on which a common position has been agreed. Today, a commission of experts began work on the legal interpretation of the first point of the demands.

[Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish at 0500 GMT on 29 August adds that: "Taking part in the meeting were Deputy Premier Kazimierz Barcikowski, chairman of the government commission examining the demands of the workforces of Szczecin factories and candidate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, and Andrzej Zabinski, a member of the government commission and candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee."]

BARCIKOWSKI, SZCZECIN STRIKE COMMITTEE MEET

LD281414 Sczcecin Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Yesterday at 1800 [1600 GMT] another round of talks began at the Adof Warski shipyard in Szczecin between the government commission appointed to examine the demands of the work forces of Szczecin factories and the Interfactory Strike Committee. Right at the beginning of the deliberations the first demand was presented together with a justification concerning the activities of the trade unions. The Interfactory Strike Committee stressed that the trade unions had not fulfilled the hopes and expectations of the workers. The working masses had lost confidence in this organization. Furthermore, the trade unions do not guarantee defense of the rights of workers. There is also deep distrust of the unions in their present form and of the possibility that they will be reorganized.

In justifying the demand affecting the trade unions, it was stated that it is impossible to reorganize them according to the old formula, because they did not back the strikers in December 1970, nor are they doing so today. That is why self-governing trade unions must be formed. Next, the Interfactory Strike Committee submitted a method by which self-governing trade unions could be formed. The proposal contained in the demand says that the strike committee should be transformed into founding committees for self-governing trade unions.

After the demand concerning the creation of self-governing trade unions was read, the talks participants sang the national anthem.

Next, Deputy Premier Kazimierz Barcikowski, chairman of the government commission, rose to speak.

In his speech he revealed his position on the demands submitted by the strikers and also reported on the current situation in the country. Barcikowski began by stating that the strike was into its 10th day in Szczecin and that this was the seventh time the government commission had met with the Interfactory Strike Committee.

Kazimierz Barcikowski said that we came here today with the idea of finding agreement by looking for a positive solution. He proposed that the report-compiling commission continue its work and prepare draft agreements which would then be the subject of talks with the Interfactory Strike Committee.

The deputy premier also suggested that after the end of the strike a joint commission be appointed to monitor the implementation of joint decisions. He expressed the conviction that agreement would be achieved if work is carried out in this way. He also expressed recognition of the shipyard's services in maintaining order. The speaker stated that the stance of the strikers who dissociate themselves from the enemies of our system had been accepted with satisfaction.

Continuing his speech, the chairman of the government commission stressed that earnest efforts were being made to find solutions to the wage and social demands. We have full understanding for them, he stated. We have not rejected a single one of these demands and we want to accept them all for implementation. However, we cannot accept all of them as fully as demanded or immediately. He explained that maximum demands cannot be met mainly because this would create the danger of chaos in the home market and in the manufacturing sphere. We already have shortages of many goods in the home market. The phenomena of sales to friends, so-called under-the-counter sales, are occurring. We have to deal with market imbalanse. Calculations for additional raw material imports are falling short of expectations, for we have to bring a lot of them in on credit. And the price of credits has greatly increased. There are now also difficulties in obtaining them.

We are aware of all the difficulties, said Kazimierz Barcikowski, in paying for wage increases. We support limitations on investment and increasing consumption outlays. In doing so the question arises: Will it be possible to cover the increased payments through additional goods? The output of home-produced goods must increase. In this connection the output of enterprises making investment items must be switched to the output of goods for the home market. But such a move requires time. The fact that we are proposing, said Kazimierz Barcikowski, to abandon the maximum wage demands does not mean that we do not want to meet them. We want to do so, but this also requires time. We propose that priority be given to the most urgent needs. Progress will apply to all wage matters. The government commission is prepared to accept real deadlines. And where it is currently impossible to define these deadlines it is proposed that agreement be reached on wage increases later on.

Regarding the demand relating to the trade unions, Kazimierz Barcikowski said that great blunders had been committed which caused the role of the trade unions to be minimized. We do not put the blame for this only on the trade unions. Their role and importance must increase fundamentally. This need is confirmed by the talks with the Interfactory Strike Committee. This is also the stance of the party. Kazimierz Barcikowski presented the proposals for changes in the sphere of trade union activities. A new law on the trade unions must be urgently prepared, he stressed. Experts must work out this law. We propose to draw up the draft law on the basis of binding international conventions and to submit it to general discussion. The law would include, among other things, regulations granting the right to strike and provisions empowering trade unions to investigate the cost of living and so on. As for the sharp criticism of the trade unions, it is possible--and this is being encouraged--that fresh elections to trade unions may be held--elections without pressure from any side.

We voice our support, said Kazimierz Barcikowski, for united trade unions. However, it would be a great loss to wait for the end of the strike to complete work on the draft law for trade unions. Let us tackle these matters as quickly as possible, the deputy premier appealed.

Further on in his speech the chairman of the government commission revealed his position on the next demands in more detail. These demands concern, among other matters, the commemoration of the victims of the events of December 1970, wage increases, increasing the lowest pensions and old-age pensions, family benefits, improved meat supplies to the home market, modifications to the shipyard workers' charter, publication of the demands in the press, payment for the duration of the strike, increasing allowances for official trips and provision for the activities of the Interfactory Strike Committee until information is obtained about the implementation of the demands which the Interfactory Strike Committee accepts.

After the speech by Deputy Premier Kazimierz Barcikowski, the discussions recessed until 2230 [2030 GMT]. At the conclusion of the night session the report-compiling group resumed its work. This group consists of representatives of the government commission and the Interfactory Strike Committee and its task is to draw up proposals for mutual decisions on individual demands. They will be the subject for further mutual discussions.

We have read you a report on the talks between the government commission and the Interfactory Strike Committee which were held yesterday.

PAPER SHORTAGE THREATENS SZCZECIN NEWSPAPER PUBLICATION

LD290916 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Summary] Stocks of paper for newspapers are running out thus threatening the publication of Szczecin newspapers. In this connection the chief director of the publication and distribution combine has appealed to the director of the Szczecin paper factory to resume supplies.

STRIKE COMMITTEE REPORTS UNLAWFUL COLLECTION OF MONEY

LD290912 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Text] The command of the urban citizen's militia in Szczecin has received a letter from the Interfactory Strike Committee in Szczecin containing the following: The Interfactory Strike Committee informs you of cases of money being collected within the city boundaries on behalf of and for the benefit of the committee. Activity of this type is a crime because the committee does not conduct and has not initiated collections of this type.

'LOSSES TO THE NATIONAL ECONOMY' INCREASING DAILY

LD290802 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 0434 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Excerpt] The strike situation along the Gdansk coastline did not undergo any measurable change yesterday. Calm and order prevails everywhere. Work stoppages continue in working places and institutions. Municipal transportation is at a standstill, and ports are not working. There is not an inch of vacant space in harbor sheds. There are hundreds and thousands of railway freight cars in the vicinity. Foreign ships more frequently abandon their plans to load cargoes and sail away. Polish ships are idle.

The losses to the national economy, to everyone of us, are increasing with every day that passes. They have already reached the sums of hundreds of millions, and even billions. Every day that passes increases these losses.

These are direct losses suffered by our maritime economy and by our foreign trade, but they are multiplied by the losses caused by the shortage of raw materials for which the various production establishments in the country are waiting.

We feel these losses in the markets which are waiting for various goods earmarked for them and which are still inside ships' holds and in harbor sheds.

The Polish side is paying foreign contractors fines for not keeping toschedules. These fines are paid in dollars. We are not receiving dues for harbor facilities provided by us, for shipping cargoes aboard Polish ships. These, too, are paid in dollars, in tens and hundreds of thousands of dollars.

I will not mention how very tense, perhaps to the utmost, is our balance of payments with foreign countries. We all know the situation. The strikes in our harbors increase these losses in a very painful way.

Everybody understands that the vast majority of the demands made by dockers and shipyard workers, by transport and building workers are just. These demands must, and will be settled. But it must not be forgotten that the losses suffered by the national economy, that is, by everyone of us, in a fundamental way make difficult the situation which is far from easy.

Who knows whether the settlement of some of these just--I repeat--just demands is being delayed.

Another day of strikes has begun. To the sums of billions of zlotys and millions of dollars of losses we will have to add more. I imagine everyone of us will probably ask the question: Should it be like this? Everyone of us will ask this question, irrespective of which side of the strike situation in our ports and docks he is on, because wher thinking about just problems we are all thinking alike and we give them our full moral support. These problems, these losses, which bring further difficulties hurt everyone of us.

Warm hearts, acting decisively over a just cause--that is all right--but let us act with commonsense and with economic aspects in mind. Here are supplies which we need today more than ever before.

GROWING UNDERSTANDING OF STRIKE DEMANDS REPORTED

LD282128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] PAP reports that lively discussions have occurred on the coast today, as well as in other parts of the country, concerning the arguments of the governmental commission put forward in response to the workers' demands, which have been publicized by the press.

The strikers of the enterprises in Gdansk, Gdynia, Szczecin and Elblag have continued to stay away from work. For a few days, a PAP journalist writes, all the inhabitants of the Gdansk coastal area have listened with attention to the talks between the governmental commission and the Interfactory Strike Committee. The local radio station is broadcasting full reports of these talks.

A feeling of relief greets every sign of progress in the talks which may hasten the moment of the conclusion of the strike. There is a better understanding now than there was a few days or 2 weeks ago of the specific conditions connected to and limiting the possibility of the fulfillment--and particularly an immediate fulfillment--of some of the demands. There is also a better understanding of the fact that problems which have accumulated over the years cannot be solved at a stroke, and that this requires time and patience.

Inhabitants of the coastal area are not finding life easy these days. They are growing more weary because of the abnormal situation. Thousands of parcels are piling up at Gdansk post offices; they cannot be delivered because there is no transportation available. Priority in delivery is given only to express parcels and food parcels.

[Warsaw PAP in English at 0215 GMT on 29 August summarizes the above item and adds:

["In [word indistinct] talks are going on between the governmental commission and representatives of factory striking committees, wrote PAP Szczecin correspondent. There is an immediate need for the possibly best solutions to the just postulates put forth by the strikers. For one more day numerous factories have not been working. Shipping is paralysized. Municipal transport is not working. Garbage is not collected from houses. Streets are not swept. What causes the greatest concern is the situation in the Szczecin-Swinoujscie port complex which is an important cargo handling base for Polish exports and commodities and raw materials imported from overseas countries.

["According to the information of the Szczecin port managing directors, 61 ships, including 37 mass and small cargo carriers of Polish ship owners lay in the [words indistinct] several mass cargo carriers loaded with grains and fodder are moored in Szczecin. There are also ships loaded with fishmeal expected by national agriculture. Moreover, many ships are loaded with raw materials necessary for further work of numerous factories in the country. There is a danger of de-organization of production and of breaking Poland's export contracts.

["In Elblag situation continues to be difficult. Life is difficult because of no transportation. Meetings between the governmental commission and strikers' representatives continue. The Elblag inhabitants are lively discussing the resolutions of the 4th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee. Contents of the governmental commission's reply to the postulates of the Gdansk striking workers are broadly commented."]

'MOST' FACTORIES IN CENTRAL COASTAL AREA STILL OPERATING

LD281550 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2005 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Summary] Our correspondent reports from Koszalin that most factories are working in the central coastal area. Discussions with the management are taking place after work. Many work forces, for instance those in the trade and urban services, are working twice as hard as usually. In the past few days food purchases have increased.

The strike of the urban transportation workers in Koszalin and Slupsk is causing difficulties for people wanting to get to work and in bringing children to schools. The strike by Transbud [construction enterprise] workers is delaying the commissioning of two buildings in a Koszalin housing development. Stocks of building and other materials are ever decreasing.

I talked today with metal workers at the overhaul-construction factory of the voivodship housing cooperative in Koszalin. Yesterday they held discussions on the most important matters affecting the factory and are listing a number of demands. Among other things, they consider their administration to be too extensive. Administrative workers account for one third of the total work force here and the factory has four directors.

ELBLAG STRIKES CONSEQUENCES; HARVESTING PROCEEDS NEAR GDANSK

LD281718 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Summary] Life is continuing under abnormal circumstances. There have been no developments today and the municipal services, communications, water and gas supplies as well as emergency services are coping with the situation. Personnel employed in the retail trade, health services and on the railroad have earned the highest respect through continued work.

In Elblag the strike of transport workers employed in local commercial supply enterprises is having the most noticeable effect on the population. It is feared that there may follow serious disruptions in the supply of prime commodities, including foodstuffs, to stores. The strike of the Elblag municipal sanitary department personnel may have some consequences, stand-in teams which are working round the clock in order to prevent the threat of an epidemic are not so highly specialized as the regular staff who are known as being very efficient. Although the population of the city appreciates the efforts of the temporary replacement staff, it is feared that Elblag may not be as clean a place in the future as it has been.

Near Gdansk in areas most affected by flooding harvesting is now in progress.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1300 GMT on 28 August reports: "The continuing stoppage of urban transportation is causing great difficulties to schoolchildren and mothers accompanying their children to nurseries and kindergartens.

["Branch meetings of the government commission with representatives of various factories and vocational groups continue in Elblag."]

REPORTAGE ON SITUATION IN WROCLAW

Work Stoppages

LD281636 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Lower Silesian news: The entire population of Wroclaw listened with great attention to the radio and television address by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, especially since the descriptions contained in it correspond vividly with the situation reigning in the city For several days now urban transportation has not been operating. The work forces of the urban transportation enterprise and many other plants have gone on strike as a mark of solidarity with the demands of the workers on the coast. The local supply services, agreeing with the support for those demands, are working without breaks, ensuring supplies of basic goods to inhabitants.

The authorities have organized partial substitute transportation and the plants which are operating are transporting their work forces by their own buses or trucks.

The work forces of striking plants have safeguarded all types of machinery and installations; exemplary order reigns there. The strikers have issued an appeal for a ban on the sale of alcohol throughout Wroclaw.

Talks at Idle Enterprises

LD281648 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Work stoppages occured today in several production enterprises in the Legnica region. Among other things municipal transportation is not working. Difficulties are being overcome by individual factories transporting inhabitants of the voivodship with their own vehicles. In work enterprises discussions are in progress at which postulates and proposals have been put forward. Some are being dealt with immediately.

Bakery Requirements Met

LD28[illegible]352 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] We have talked today with representatives of the commerce department of the state motor transportation in Wroclaw and we will broadcast a report on this meeting in tomorrow's Odra radio program.

Wroclaw bakeries have informed us that requirements of shops today, which totaled 122 tons, were met by 1400. Baking continues in order to provide tomorrow's supplies. Some of these supplies will be delivered to shops today if needed. Yesterday's sales of bakery goods exceeded the usual figures by 52,000 tons. There have been no difficulties with transportation. We have also visited some of the Wroclaw shops.

LODZ TAXI DRIVERS RESUME WORK

LD281536 Lodz Domestic Service in Polish 0440 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Excerpt] On the subject of transportation, here is a report on a meeting between representatives of administration and leadership of the voivodship union of privately owned trade and service enterprises and Lodz taxi drivers. During their talks many econmic and organizational problems concerning this profession were discussed. Several problems were settled. Among other things, allocation of a central gas products enterprise station in each quarter of the town where taxi drivers will have priority and also a decision on allowing taxi drivers to use roads normally closed to motor transportation.

The postulate [presumably moved by the taxi drivers] on the increased allocation of cars and on financial issues was sent to the central authorities.

The Lodz taxi drivers accepted with satisfaction a previous decision by the authorities on introducing a second fare zone for the suburban region as has been applied in other towns of the country. In an atmosphere of understanding of the needs of our city voivodship's inhabitants, the taxi drivers decided to resume work today.

BYDGOSZCZ RADIO REPORTS FOUR MORE ENTERPRISES ON STRIKE

LD281850 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] The Mostostal and Polsport enterprises in Chojnice, the Solimor enterprise in Torun and the Blacha enterprise in Grudziadz are on strike. Enterprise managers and representatives of local party organizations are holding talks over ways to solve the present situation.

Transportation Strike

LD281946 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Today [words indistinct] caused a strike of workers of the urban transportation enterprise. In the morning hours the buses and trolleys stopped. During the day talks continued between the voivodship transportation committee and representatives of city authorities and the representatives of the work force of the voivodship transportation enterprise.

MUNICIPAL TRANSPORT IN WLOCLAWEK CEASES OPERATING

LD281846 Bydgoszcz Domestic Service in Polish 1440 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] In Wloclawek, just as in other towns of the voivodship, production enterprises continue working. (?Today), as a result of the stoppage of work of the MPK workforce, the urban transport services in Wloclawek have stopped operating. This caused great annoyance to the entire community of this more than 100,000-strong city of Wloclawek. The management and the city authorities are holding talks at the enterprise aimed at resuming work. The stoppage does not influence the normal functioning of trade and communal services. In the interest of the entire community the city authorities have introduced alternative transportation to serve the citizens of Wloclawek.

TRADE UNION OFFICIALS VIEW EVENTS, ORGANIZATION, DEMOCRATIZATION

Romuald Jankowski Speech

LD282104 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1738 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Speech by Romuald Jankowski, chairman of the Trade Union Central Council (CRZZ), delivered at the studios of Warsaw television--live]

[Text] Two days ago I was elected chairman of the CRZZ. Today, I should like to set out our attitude toward the most important problems concerning the trade union movement. I have been elected chairman at a very difficult time. The working class of the coastal area and in other striking areas and work establishments have made very serious accusations as regards our movement.

The workers' criticism was uncompromising and reached the point of negative phenomena. It deals also with the model of a socialist state, its improvement, and the proper place of trade unions in it. The workers' voices are justified. Yes, it is true that the trade unions, in particular in the last few years, have failed to effectively depend the direct interests and needs of the working man although they were familiar with them; understood them and demanded emphatically that they should be settled.

In 3 months the Ninth Congress of Polish Trade Unions is to take place. In that period of time profound changes will take place in the trade union movement. In conformity with the spirit of the recent CRZZ plenum, I see as my role ensuring a democratic course of this process so as to make it possible to take the floor to represent the workers' views, the views of all trade unionists throughout the country, and to exert an influence on the decisions of the congress and on the structure of the trade union movement.

Should I succeed in making my personal contribution to this issue, I will consider my mission as fulfilled. I will consider that I have done what I should have done as a trade unionist and as a Pole.

The workers want the trade unions to become their authentic representatives--authentic ones. They want them to effectively protect their interests. In short, they want unions whose main objective is the protection of the workers' interests. It is such unions that we support and endorse.

In my opinion the Polish trade union movement must undergo a profound renewal. This awareness accompanied the debate of the 16th CRZZ plenum. The union activists have subjected to thorough criticism their own work and the situation prevailing in the trade union movement, and have pointed to the need to provide unshakable guarantees that would never allow the development of a similar situation.

We see these guarantees in a new trade union bill. It must clearly recognize the role of the trade union movement as a force which consults critically all government decisions, in particular those dealing with wages, labor norms and social policy. A trade unions' protest warranted by the views of the working class must automatically stop such decisions.

The controlling prerogatives, the firm defense of the just cause, interest of the working man constitute the sole path for cooperation for the good of the socialist society.

Trade unions have now set up their own commission to study the cost of living, and from now on they will have their own data, their own justification of prices, and on this basis they will be constructing all moves toward compensation for rising costs of living. The new bill should guarantee other methods, but should clearly determine their character. The practice of coordinating all state actions with collegiate organs of trade unions must be an unshakable principle for action. We decisively reject the practice of one-person coordinati::

The trade union bill must also clearly determine the character of the unions as a fully autonomous and rightful organization of working people of socialist Poland, within the framework of constitution and law. The bill should strengthen the role of trade unions as a partner of the government and of the trade and economic administration with full rights, of whom all should and must take account.

Even during its latest debate, the Central Trade Union Council has drawn conclusions from the present criticism. We have started work on the new draft bill for trade unions and on the draft bill for workers self-government. We know that such bills cannot arise from small circles, small teams; they must take in the entire workers class. We are looking for efficient methods of working. We want to regain the trust of the workers class. We can renew our movement only in full contact with the workers class, because the workers class is and shall be the master of trade unions, of their own organization.

The 16th CRZZ plenum has spoken out clearly on the class character of the trade union movement. It is precisely this which is the strength of the working class, its main force and most essential sense.

It is extraordinarily important that even while we have evaluated the situation in our movement highly critically, we can say without shame that the great majority of the strike demands were collected during trade unionists' discussions in enterprises, which we were passing on to the government and administration, warning at the same time that they might be the cause of sharp dissatisfaction and even social conflict.

The people who have forgotten who elected them to trade union offices, and why, shall have no place among us. Trade unionists will decisively get rid of bureaucrats and careerists.

But a large number of socially aware trade unionists did work well in the interest of their collectives. They deserve our respect and recognition. We will defend them against attacks. However, if at any place collectives demand elections of new enterprise councils this should be done. Who workers elect from among themselves as their representatives is their own affair.

The movement for a renewal must envelop all links and all trade union activists, including the CRZZ. We now wish to develop a frank dialogue with working people--with those who are still on strike and with those who are still working in this difficult period. We are capable of telling ourselves every truth and of changing everything that should be changed. But we should safeguard the unity of the trade union and workers movement. At this point in the review we are conducting, we are also carrying out a deep, not infrequently very bitter self-assessment, but above all, we have decided--and we are doing this--to insist firmly that the demands of workforces put forward during our campaign for enterprise trade councils elections be settled.

We will also take care that the demands of the striking workforces, especially those concerning social and pay matters, are, in an agreed time and way, introduced into force absolutely.

This has to be done starting today, straight away, and we are doing it. But we must also straight away answer the question: Can one any longer stand at positions which divide us so sharply, even though certainly for reasons which really existed? Trade unionists at the 16th CRZZ plenum revealed these reasons. They defined them and proposed a platform for general discussion and wise agreement, as a foundation for the renewal of the trade union movement, because today the community of interest of all working people, without exception, lies in negotiating an agreement that will free the trade unions from their very real liabilities, to transform them into the core, in the spirit of the socialist ideal.

I am speaking today in the spirit of the deliberations of the 16th CRZZ plenum. I come forward with these propositions and assessments to working people throughout Poland, to all trade unionists, including the striking workforces and strike committees elected, of course, by the workforces.

The lengthening of the conflict beyond the endurance of the economy, in the fact of national risks, demands sensible and wise decisions. A rapid agreement is now really essential--as essential as profound reforms.

And the trade unions do not want to, and cannot shirk these. They do not want to, because they profoundly understand all aspects of the situation. They cannot, because they are (?and will be) the organization of the working class and all working people. Thank you.

Andrzej Bilik Interview

ID290916 Paris Domestic Service in French 0600 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Excerpts] There is no compromise in Poland on the issue of free trade unions. The strikers refuse to yield. Speaking to our special correspondent Pierre Ganz, here is what the deputy editor in chief of Polish television, Andrzej Bilik, had to say.

[Begin Bilik] I would say that Poland is going through a very rapid process of mental modernization. We have already tried to modernize our economy, and that did not go very well, but we noticed that first of all we perhaps ought to modernize our shared mentality, and that is what is happening.

[Question] Does that mean we should be talking about democratization, for example?

[Answer] That is what I mainly meant, because we have noticed that without a really thorough democratization process we cannot make our country truely modern. We who are members of the Communist Party think that it must start with the party. If we do not carry out that democratization process within the party, we will not be able genuinely to democratize the country.

[Question] And you hope that is what is being done?

[Answer] Exactly. This period [periode] has gone so far now that it cannot be stopped. That is to say, it can be stopped eventually, but not till democratization has really been carried out. [end recording]

Further on Interview

ID281210 Paris Domestic Service in French 1100 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Excerpt] Negotiations resumed in Poland this morning between the government representative, Mr Jagielski, and the strike committee. Thus, these are summit negotiations following yesterday's working meetings in restricted session. It was yesterday in fact that the strikers announced that an agreement had been reached in principle of the establishment of free trade unions. Will Mr Jagielski confirm this agreement today? The outcome of the dispute depends to a large extent on his reply. But, if one is to believe the deputy editor in chief of Polish television, Andrzej Bilik, the strikers are running the risk of being disappointed. The definition of a free trade union as seen by the Warsaw government does not really correspond to what the strikers are hoping for. Andrzej Bilik, at the microphone of our special correspondent Pierre Ganz.

[Begin Recording] [Bilik] It has already been agreed that the trade unions should be completely transformed, completely, and that involves the inclusion of certain of today's strikers in the management of the trade unions, at the local level, if you like, and also at the central level.

[Ganz] Might one think that these trade unions could resemble certain large workers' trade unions, such as there are in France for example?

[Bilik] I sincerely think so, but with the difference that in France you have different trade unions of communist, socialist, etc. allegiance, don't you? Whereas for us, of course, that is not possible. But we think that one trade union could be set up, that the current trade union could, if you like, be transformed into a kind of trade union which would include all opinions. [end recording]

TRYBUNA LUDU DISMISSES CALL FOR RIVAL TRADE UNION BODY

LD281442 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] In a front-page editorial the party paper TRYBUNA LUDU today assessed last Tuesday's plenary meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions as a step forward in the right direction in the search for appropriate solutions regarding the role of the unions in the country's life. At the same time, the central party organ dismissed the call for the establishment of a rival trade unions body as one that "is aimed at splitting the unity of the Polish working class, provoking internal struggle, setting loose a wave of settling of accounts and bringing anarchy into public life". .

The party paper wrote that alongside nationwide discussion on a reform of the trade unions movement "there have also been voices, evoking some resonance too, which went in the opposite direction. They boil down to the call for a hasty establishment of an entirely new structure which, under one name or another, would be a de facto political movement absorbing and proclaiming conceptions contradicting the socialist system and order, hence aimed against the Polish raison d'etat. "It cannot be denied that the opponents of socialism have long been advocating not so much a reform as a split of the trade unions movement. Being aware of the unfeasibility of their endeavors to obtain direct political power, they attempt to use for their ends civil and workers' rights and social organizations. This is how today they are trying to take advantage of the justified criticism of the trade unions by the working masses".

As for the proposals concerning a change in the name of the trade unions movement, TRYBUNA LUDU said that that deserved consideration, as the new name might reflect the qualitatively new stage in its development, but that was a matter of secondary importance compared to the need for fundamental changes in the statute and rights of the unions and deep democratization of their operation.

"One thing is certain: Never in the future may the trade unions be pushed to the sidelines or the administration impose its decisions upon them. The unions must be guaranteed an independent and partnerlike role in all the areas that concern them. An infringement upon their independence contradicts the principles of socialism, the party programme and the social contract defined in the Polish Constitution.

The trade unions must become a highly authoritative, fully self-governing, thoroughly democratic universal organization of the Polish working people, equipped with broad and inviolable rights. [passage indistinct] In extreme cases, when all else has failed, the unions may (?resort to) means (?of) defence of the interests of working people. This, of course, is an exceptional option.

TRYBUNA LUDU also agreed with the demands for a new legislative regulation of the problem of workers' self-government.

RAKOWSKI ARTICLE WARNS AGAINST 'UNCONTROLLABLE CONFRONTATIONS'

71517 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 3 Aug 80 pp 1, 5

[Chief editor Mieczyslaw Rakowski Article: "People and Politics"]

[Text] The socio-political situation of our country since the beginning of July leads one to numerous conclusions concerning problems of the utmost importance to our country and our society--both for today and for tomorrow. This was expressed by the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek, in his televised speech on Monday.

The meaning of that very important speech is as follows. While putting into practice the post-December 1970 economic and social policy, we have made mistakes. There exists the necessity to correct these mistakes. The questions of responsibility for these mistakes remains open. The party, in spite of our difficult economic situation will take decisions which will improve the material situation of the population. The party will urgently examine the questions of the performance of trade unions; it will strengthen the autonomy of self-management bodies; it will fight against transgressions of social justice and it will tackle the reforms of the economic system.

In a word, the party is meeting the demands of the working class and of society. The party, however, rejects the possibility of any compromise with the forces which are against the foundations of our system.

The leader of the party, then, has outlined the scope of the discussion. He has marked out the boundaries within which dialogue--and necessary social adjustments--can take place. These boundaries, it must be remembered, are very wide.

These words were included in Edward Gierek's speech because active representatives of antisocialist forces have emerged among some of the striking workers. These representatives of antisocialist forces are putting words into workers' mouths, words aiming at a permanent destabilization of the state. These people, whatever their various and specific political ideas, can and should understand where is the borderline--at which the danger to the existence of Poland and of Poles begins. This is why the words of Edward Gierek should find a thinking audience among these people too.

The first secretary has specified the direction of our activities. The translation of that direction into specific action is a question of the next few days and weeks. We will attempt to participate journalistically in this program of action. However, if the normal rhythm of working has not been restored within the next few days--it goes without saying that the restoration of normal work will not prevent discussions between workers and industrial and other managements and will not preclude the submission of postulates, which must be earnestly considered--our country will be threatened by destabilization. The results of such development can be dangerous for all of us.

Throughout the last 10 years, on the pages of our publication, we have every week supported the socioeconomic program for the development of the country, adopted after the December (1970) events. The source of our faith was the program of the sixth congress of the party, itself inspired by the December events. The leitmotiv of that program was that economic activity should directly serve the fulfillment of the needs of society; that the nation's political unity arrived at through consensus and consultation is the foundation of government; and that an opening to the world be made. [paragraph continues]

Edward Gierek referred to these ideas in his speech when he said: "This is why we must return to the consistent observance of the sixth congress line." We viewed that program as a road to modern and prosperous Poland. That is why we continued to watch with attention the implementation of the post-December program and to critically evaluate the weaknesses and errors of the various levels of government, of workers collectives and so on.

I am recalling here nothing new--but I do so deliberately. My commentary on the situation taking shape in Poland will contain phrases which--possibly--not all of our readers will accept without saying "yes, but...." [They will not accept them] for either essential or emotional reasons. The work stoppages or, if you will, the strikes, which have been taking place in Poland for several weeks, constitute an unusual social and political phenomenon in the history of People's Poland. It is, therefore, not surprising that they are a subject for much comment. Work stoppages lead to the arousal of various emotions and passions. In this psychopolitical situation, a sober, calm assessment of the facts--thinking about wider implications and allowing for all the aspects of the situation--frequently takes second or even lower place.

In articles which have appeared so far concerning the changing situation in the country, and also in the public addresses of comrades from the party's leadership, an appeal has repetitively been made: an appeal to the society to remember the responsibility which rests on it for the fate of the country, both now and in the future. Although appeals--especially repeated appeals--do not always produce the desired results, they are necessary this time round. This is because in the history of a nation there sometimes occur situations, in which the collective sense of responsibility must be accorded the highest priority.

The experience of the postwar period indicates that our country plays an important part in maintaining both the European and the world equilibrium. The role of Poland as an important factor in the equilibrium derives from a variety of causes.

Among small and middle-size European socialist nations, we are the largest from every point of view. We possess huge reserves of valuable raw materials, our economic potential is large, we have numerous educated people. Their knowledge rests on their ability to draw on the accumulated skills of all humanity. We also occupy a strategically important position.

We should take notice of--and value--all the positive aspects of the strengthening of the authority of Poland in the world during the 1970's. During that time we have been pursuing a policy of a broad opening to the world in all geographical directions. This policy has produced benefits not just for the Polish economy, but for our entire society, from intellectuals to workers. Thanks to this policy, Poland has managed to gain respect in the world. This is not a minor achievement.

The victory of socialism has eliminated the possibility of anybody treating Poland as a country on the periphery. Today, the leaders of all the important countries in the world know that Poland, with its socialist system, is an important element of the world balance. We are a country to be reckoned with also because, at the threshold of our new independence, we managed to enter into friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

Our responsibility for peace in Europe stems from this role and this position of Poland. This responsibility stretches not just to peace, but also to the further fate of the policy of detente. Should, for example, a permanent destabilization of social and political relations occur in Poland, one can see in advance that our country would become a European obstacle--a member of the family of nations which would be difficult for everybody. It is also possible that this could lead Europe towards a new, and even more difficult, version of the cold war.

Beyond any doubt Poland is a sensitive spot and that is why it is clear to me that many Western politicians and leaders have publicly expressed in recent weeks their conviction and their hope that our country will be able to solve its difficulties and contradictions, thus benefiting Europe and ourselves. These leaders have shown that this is what they want.

If this is the place of Poland in Europe--if this is how others see us--our every public move should be carefully measured and thought through. This goes for the rulers and the ruled alike.

We, all of us, from top to bottom, and independently of our political loyalties and our world outlook, must behave so that the world will know that, as a nation, we understand the responsibility resting on us, that we know that Poland is not just us but also future generations, so that we can not only govern [the country by] ourselves, but also do it wisely. This, as our past indicates, is not an easy task.

The destabilization of social and economic relations in Poland would be dangerous not only from the point of view of the role of our country in the European and world balance, but also for internal reasons. The destabilization may be helpful in producing false hopes among the forces opposed to our party. These forces may think that the time has come not only to pronounce their ideas but also to act upon them. Our national interest requires us to clearly refute such desires, that is, also to avoid the activities that help destabilize the country's socioeconomic situation--activities that, whether you want it or not, favor the invigoration of the antisocialist forces.

I think the time has come to dot one's i's. Any attempt to think politically in the direction of improving our social system (and this is a continuous activity, as there are no once-and-for-all perfect forms, methods and means) must be performed with a view to strengthening socialism in Poland and to preserve the historically-shaped substance of political authority. To understand this is a basic prerequisite of responsible thinking and action from the point of view of the fate of the state and the nation. This is also the thinking of those politicians who do not love socialism. I am thinking here of Western politicians.

Needless to say, the point of view outlined above does not imply that our party can, even for a moment, disregard the idea of a real, and not only formal, participation of the society and of its representatives in the running of the country.

Our party cannot do that because, in the socialist system, a human being has a feeling of coresponsibility for the state only if he has a real influence on its policy. This is the nature of the rule of the people. In other words, there is no coresponsibility without participation in power. And authority, as we know, is not restricted to the so-called "them." The constant bringing nearer of the ideals of co-rule, embodied in the programme of the National Unity Front, cannot be treated in the programme of the National Unity Front, cannot be treated in terms of political tactics. This must be the subject of our constant concern because it is impossible to imagine a successful future of Polish socialism, which is not and will never be a petrified formation, without the daily coresponsibility of all patriotically and realistically thinking Poles for our national fate. This is a conclusion that suggests the reality and the rich democratic traditions of the Polish nation.

The work interruptions during the past 7 weeks which have extended to major factories in Lublin and the Baltic coast, as well as to various areas of the public service, city transport, deliveries of supplies, have all combined to cause the disorganization of life in those great urban conglomerations.

This has led to a very complex economic, political and psychological phenomenon. It demands serious and comprehensive analysis.

In many instances one can understand the motives and the goals which combine to lead to the refusal to work. But it is disquieting that not everybody is ready to take into account the consequences which their actions can provoke.

This is particularly true of those movements of discontent that--even when they are more or less justified--had taken a form whose political consequences could profoundly damage our national existence for a long time to come.

Of course it can happen that we want something; and yet that our actions will have consequences radically different from our original goals. One can even understand--which does not necessarily mean that one accepts--when young inexperienced workers fall prey to their emotions.

But older people should not forget the experience of the postwar period, which demonstrates that when certain political facts are created they lead to a situation which may not always be in accord with the intention of those who formulated the original policies.

Three weeks ago POLITYKA published a Jerzy Urban article "Living at One's Own Cost" and presented in it its viewpoint on strikes and on their economic consequences in the present socioeconomic situation of the country.

The arguments presented in that article have not been unequivocally accepted by our readers. I have received many letters, including quite a number of critical ones. Some readers have asked me why as chief editor I let such an article be published. So I read it again and found no arguments in it with which I could not agree. We have published many items that our readers applauded, but our task is not to publish only the popular truths that are applauded.

Our responsibility to our society obliges us also to publish unpleasant facts if we think their publication is justified and necessary. The results of the strikes, which are disadvantageous for the Polish economy and for all the working people, are and will be visible. They can be discerned even by those who do not know the entire truth about the country's extremely difficult economic situation or who have just a nebulous idea about the inexorable functioning of the laws of economics. If these results are not obvious right now they will be obvious in the future because everyone will encounter them tomorrow when reaching for his pocket. Everyone will easily find out that his zlotys are "lighter" than they were 6 months before.

It is our duty to point to the economically disadvantageous results of work stoppages, whose main aim last July was to obtain higher wages. This is our duty regardless of how extensive and profound the criticism of the methods and ways of planning and management is. We have published many articles on this criticism.

It is obvious that this is not everything we should do when analyzing the development of Poland's social and political situation in the past 2 months. It is also necessary to take a political look at the continuing--longer or shorter--work stoppages. It is necessary to see them against the background of the government-versus-society relationship.

A journalist has written that strikes in our system are something exotic. One cannot agree with such a viewpoint because it assumes that our social system is something sacred or because it presupposes a historically false proposition that--through its nature--socialism excludes the possibility of various contradictions appearing within [a socialist] society.

If matters reach the point in our society where we have phenomena such as those currently taking place in Poland the inevitable conclusion is that something, or someone, is not working properly.

Either the groups carrying the main responsibility for the country's development; or those of the workers who are abandoning their work places; or maybe both?

One way or another this proves that somewhere understanding has been lost between the country's leadership and quite large sections of the working class.

This is not a very happy manifestation in the context of our national interest. But one must not fall into panic and conclude that Poland is collapsing because of this gap between the rulers and the ruled.

Today one thing is certain: all of us are the losers. For that reason we must establish precisely and quickly where and why understanding has broken down. Then we must undertake energetic and sincere action to reestablish it. Comrade Edward Gierek spoke about this.

The analysis of the circumstances which has led to the present tension must not aim at seeking merely the culprit. Those who deserve praise must get it, just as those who have earned censure should hear it. That includes everyone, including myself.

We are facing such great and complicated problems that any kind of dodging in our actions and words is really unnecessary. What we need, however, is imagination.

The fixing of the causes for the present tensions is certainly not a Sisyphean labor. The various ills of our economic and social life have often been analyzed and described. In his TV speech on 15 August Premier Edward Babiuch discussed one of such ills. "Our society," he said, "has been provided inadequate information about our troubles, about the state of the economy and about the increasing problems as and when they occurred. We have not prepared ourselves sufficiently for the coming encounter with the difficult times that we should have inevitably been expecting for some years now." This remark in fact concerns the performance of the mechanisms of socialist democracy.

It seems to many people that the pressures which they exercise through work interruptions will hasten favorable changes. They may believe that to make life more difficult for the government will influence a more decisive improvement of the political structure. The truth is more complicated.

One has to ask whether it is possible during such upheavals and work stoppages to complete the necessary shifts of manpower, to improve management, to increase the discipline of wages and to link them to productivity and to correct the economic structure?

I may be wrong, but I have serious doubts about that. Many good and necessary intentions of the economic leadership may encounter serious difficulties. Stability today and improvements in our living standards tomorrow depend on the implementation of those intentions and not on printing money.

There is no way of perfecting the way in which power is exercized; certainly not by paralyzing the leadership.

Social development without tension and conflict is, speaking realistically, impossible. Every time when people or social classes succeed in solving one or more problems they soon find another facing them. It has always been so and will be so in the future.

Everything comes to one central issue--to ensure that the inevitable tensions and conflicts do not lead us into confrontations which we cannot then control. If confrontation develops then it becomes impossible for all the sides involved to participate in the search for a solution.

EPISCOPATE COMMUNIQUE STRESSES WORKERS' RIGHTS

LD282134 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1815 GMT 28 Aug 80

["Full Text" of communique on the meeting of the Main Council of the Polish Episcopate held at Jasna Gora on 26 August]

[Text] An extraordinary meeting of the Main Council of the Polish Episcopate took place on the occasion of the feast of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa on 26 August, 1980 at the national sanctuary at Jasna Gora. The meeting was presided over by Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, the primate of Poland.

1. The Main Council of the Episcopate has appraised, with deep concern for the good of the nation and of the state, as well as for every citizen, the present state of economic, social and political tensions in our country. The origins of these tensions are complex. They reflect the dissatisfaction which has been mounting for many years and which derive from the errors which have been committed. It is only in an atmosphere of tranquillity and inner composure that they can be effectively abated.

The Main Council of the Episcopate expresses, both to the workers on strike and their committees and to the authorities, its appreciation of the fact that they have not allowed any disturbance of public order to occur. This is proof of civic and political maturity. The attitude that has been maintained inspires hope that in an honest dialogue between the strike committees that have been constituted and the delegations of political and government authorities all problems under dispute will be solved, which is in the interest of the entire nation. A speedy settlement of these problems is the urgent need of the moment. Therefore, this dialogue should reflect a readiness to find solutions acceptable to both sides, Poles must be able to come to a mutual understanding and must be able to settle their own problems in their own house. The agreements that have been reached and that have been backed by necessary guarantees should end the strikes so that the normal functioning of the national economy and national life can take place in an atmosphere of tranquillity. The agreements should be maintained by both sides in accordance with the principle: "pacta sunt servanda."

2. The Main Council of the Episcopate, within the framework of its pastoral service to the nation, draws the attention of the whole Polish people to the manner of acting and behavior required of those who understand the spirit of the Gospel, based on the principle of love and social justice, in the process of claiming rights and granting them. While calling for the maintenance of peace, order and prudence, the council emphasizes with full vigor and reminds all that the condition of inner peace is the respect for the inalienable rights of the nation.

These rights include: the right to God; the right to full civil freedom, including the right to religious freedom and free activity of the church, as well as the right to a real, and not only declared, tolerance of convictions; a right to the dignified existence of every family, education and public upbringing corresponding to the convictions concerned; the right to truth which, among other things, is achieved by honest information in a fair dialogue between the public authorities and the nation; the right to learn the full history and culture of the nation; unfettered possession and expression of truth, to the freedom of opinion and speech; the right to bread accessible to all citizens according to their needs; and the right of individual ownership and use of land on agricultural farms. The application of this right and the creation of favorable conditions for individual agricultural farms will make them more productive, will strengthen families and will link people with their native land--all of this serves the Polish raison d'etat.

In addition to these, there are the right to work performed in accordance with the postulates of the dignity and freedom of the workingman; the right to fair remuneration for work performed; the right of citizens to association to the independence of their professional representation and to self-government. On this last issue the Second Vatican Council teaches that, among other things, human rights include the right of employees to the free establishment of unions which will truly represent them and which will be able to contribute to the shaping of economic life in accordance with a legitimate procedure as well as the right of every employee to free participation in the activities of these unions without fearing vindictive action. These are only some of the rights which need emphasizing at present.

3. The Polish nation is in need of a genuine moral and social renewal in order to regain faith in itself and its future and confidence in its own resources, as well as to revive its moral energy and public spirit to match the enormous effort and necessary sacrifices which are facing everybody. Another need is that of rebuilding trust between the nation and the authorities so that in a joint effort a better future for the country can be built and the interests of the nation and the state can be safeguarded.

4. The Main Council of the Episcopate, on behalf of the conference of the episcopate, instructs that prayers be held throughout the country for a successful, and favorable for the country, settlement of the present tensions and the difficulties that have arisen. The timing and the form of these prayers will be decided by the bishops (?at their own discretion).

[Signed] Warsaw, 27 August 1980

POPE APPEALS FOR PEACE, JUSTICE; WELCOMES PILGRIMS

LD281944 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1415 GMT 26 Aug 80

[Excerpts] Following yesterday's general audience the Pope said in Polish:

[Begin recording] Praise be Jesus Christ. With this Christian greeting I welcome all those present, in particular the pilgrimage from the St Kamil Parish in Zabrze, a group of teachers from Krakow, a group of pilgrims from the Foreign Trade Agency and the Warsaw Building Stone Works, the groups of students from Krakow, Szczecin, Warsaw and Gdansk as well as many individual pilgrims from various towns: Gdansk, Gniezno, Bialystok, Przemysl, Warsaw, Krakow, Lodcz, Morag, Rybnik, and Lublin; in addition groups of Polish emigrees, missionaries on their way to Brazil and Indonesia, a group of altar boys and young men from the Marian fathers' parish in England together with their pastors, boy scouts from London, the Warsaw and Baltic scout troops and individual pilgrims from France and Argentina.

Yesterday we celebrated the feast of Our Lady of Jasna Gora with our compatriots present in Rome from Poland and abroad. We prayed together, participating in Holy Mass. We have also joined Jasna Gora, since this was the feast of Our Lady of Czestochowa, entrusting to her, who is given to our nation for protection--as the prayer in the Mass reads--entrusting to her the problems of our homeland, important and grave problems. On that day I sent warm wishes imploring that the pilgrims' prayer under the leadership of the Episcopate, headed by the primate, should bring peace and justice to our fatherland. [end recording]

REACTION TO CENSORING OF CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI SPEECH

'Incomplete, Unauthorized' Text

LD282200 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1815 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Here is another statement from the Press Office of the Episcopate: In connection with the coverage by Polish Radio, television and the press of the sermon preached by the primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski, during the special service at Jasna Gora in honor of the Black Madonna of Czestochowa on 26 August, 1980, the Press Office of the Polish Episcopate has been authorized to state that the text published was incomplete and unauthorized and that its author had not been asked for his consent to its publication by the Polish mass information media.

Gdansk Workers Angry

LD281710 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Excerpt] Today's main topic is Poland. Not the talks between the strikers and the government, but the disclosures this morning that the television speech by Catholic Cardinal Wyszynski to the strikers 2 nights ago was edited. An important passage was cut, and the strikers now are very angry. This is Staffan Ekendahl in Gdansk:

[Edendahl] The talks at noon today by no means dealt with the key issue of the strike, free trade unions, but they turned into a hard attack by the striking workers, [words indistinct] because Cardinal Wyszynski's television speech 2 days ago was censored. The striking workers' disappointment with what they believed was the cardinal's lack of understanding for their cause gave way to anger. (?Two) passages in the speech in which the cardinal spoke of justice and spiritual values had been edited out. This followed upon the workers' demands for greater influence and the lifting of censorship. The impression left was instead that Wyszynski called for work and calm. When it was disclosed that Wyszynski had been censored, the workers turned their disappointment and anger upon the government.

Deputy Premier Jagielski received a stream of hard and persistent criticism from the strikers. Jagielski replied that he was not responsible for what had happened and that he knew nothing about the matter.

The censoring of Cardinal Wyszynski, who is one of the most influential people in Poland, is interpreted by the opposition [words indistinct] as an almost desperate act by the government.

Interview With Szczecin Workers

LD290934 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0554 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Text] Recent events, which includes what is taking place on the coast of Szczecin and elsewhere, have encouraged discussion. Our reporters yesterday recorded the reactions of people of Szczecin they met in the streets:

[Begin recording unidentified worker] What do I think about the situation in our country? It is most complicated. On the one hand there are the demands for which the workers are struggling and on the other there is a group of people who do not want to meet all these demands. As far as economic demands are concerned these do not represent much diffuculty. But the other demands which are being described as political are not, as a matter of fact, political at all. I would say they are social demands and in my view if genuine democracy is restored we shall have calm and order.

As far as the Cardinal Wyszynski's homily is concerned, my view is that it was said in such moderate and considered terms that it was meant for people to calm down and for calm to return to Poland, and that, at present is the most important thing. But Ryszard Wojna has upset us. As for the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ] resolutions, I agree, but the problem is that not all that is said on radio and television matches them. In recent years people have been told one thing and something else was done. Needless to say people lost their trust. To rebuild public trust is hard and difficult.

[Another voice] I do not know much about these things. I want peace and quiet. Cardinal Wyszynski spoke very well. Why? Well because we cannot deal with everything all at once, rashly.

[Another voice] I think that something had to be done for that particular boil to burst. It has been going on for far too long. It should have been done and finished with long ago. The government and strike commissions are sitting but they should try and reach compromise. They should not adopt rigid stands in which neither side is prepared to give way. And you cannot solve everything at once, as for the cardinal's sermon then I must say that he approached the issue realistically.

[Another voice] I am a worker and I support worker's demands. Perhaps not all of them specifically, but in principle they are largely right. Politics has never been of much interest to me but I do think that the state has had 10 years to think, and in those 10 years, it should have done something to prevent today's situation. As for Wyszynski, he spoke objectively and very well. [end recording]

Allegations of Priest

LD281222 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1155 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Report by Staffan Ekendahl in Gdansk--recorded]

[Excerpt] Before the talks started today a Catholic priest from southern Poland appeared before the striking workers. He called on the workers to fight for social justice. The values of life are not merely material, but also spiritual and emotional, he said, and [words indistinct] the workers' demands to gain real influence in society. The Catholic priest further called on the strikers not to forget the imprisoned members of the opposition group, KOR, [Workers Self-Defense Committee], who are in prison because they have fought particularly for the values in life we all believe in, the priest said.

He also made a fairly sensational disclosure about Cardinal Wyszynski's TV speech the day before yesterday. He said that the cardinal's speech had been censored by the authorities. Those parts of the speech in which he gave his support to the striking workers had been cut out by Polish television. Thus the speech became much more favorable to the authorities than was actually intended. The Catholic priest said further that the prelude to the speech was that party leader Gierek called on Cardinal Wyszynski. Gierek showed his respect by asking on bended knee that Wyszynski make a television speech and save the nation. Gierek was also said to have mentioned the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and said that Poland must be saved through the cooperation of all national forces.

It was an amazed public of striking workers and journalists who listened to what the Catholic priest said. As a source for his information he gave his own bishop.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY ON PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM RESULTS

AU281518 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Aug 80 pp 1, 6

[Andrzej Zmuda article: "Subjects of Calm and Meaningful Talks"]

[Text] All of us--not only party members but all our people--had been hopefully waiting for the PZPR Central Committee plenum because the country's present economic, social and political situation required that the leadership and the entire party take a resolute stand and resolute action.

Proceeding from a critical and self-critical appraisal of the reasons for that situation, at its Sunday plenum the Central Committee announced what is to be done in order to stabilize the country and ensure its favorable development. The primary task is to repair many errors and to consistently stick to the post-December line--the line of the Sixth PZPR Congress--which won the general approval of the entire party and of all our people. We must accomplish this task through common efforts of the workers class and all our citizens.

The reasons that have brought about social conflicts, which have been acute at times in many places and factories, are numerous. No matter what subjective and objective sources of these conflicts we may point out, one thing is certain: The key issue now is to achieve a social accord that can bring back orderly life and work to the country and to its economy.

The Central Committee outlined how this overriding goal can be achieved: through efforts to eliminate the reasons for social discontent and to restore the climate of the mutual trust that linked us all in the first post-December years.

Making allowances for the people's moods and demands, the party and its leadership are now making a basic turnabout in their policy and are expecting such a turnabout from all agencies of state government, from economic and local administrations and from all public services.

It is also expecting it from social organizations, primarily from the trade union movement. Unfortunately, as seen particularly in the past few months and weeks, trade unions in many cases have not been fulfilling their basic duty: to defend and safeguard the interests of workers and employees and to promote workers self-government activities. [paragraph continues]

It is therefore right that trade unions are being criticized for frequently cutting themselves off from the work forces, for red tape, for excessive softness toward economic administrations of all levels and for failing to have their own views on such fundamental issues as their increasing costs of living, haphazard and uncontrolled price hikes and bad working conditions. It goes without saying that this criticism does not apply to all trade union functionaries. It would not be right to lump them all together. I know many trade union functionaries who stubbornly fight for the rights of their comrades in work and who have scored genuine achievements and gained the praise of the work forces

Discontent with trade union activities has now found its concentrated expression in the demand for free trade unions. What does this mean? To the workers this means that trade unions are independent vis-a-vis the administrations and that they defend the interests of the workers class. However, certain antisocialist forces scense in this political opportunities and are trying to set up an organization that is not socialist but oppositionist in nature. The PZPR Central Committee has clearly defined its position on this issue. The party supports the class character of trade unions, which will deal [beda zajmowac sie] independently with things such as control of the cost of living, implementation of social policy, struggle against cliques in enterprises, observance of social justice and so on.

And whenever work forces want it, there is nothing to prevent them from choosing new plant councils in free elections from candidates proposed in complete freedom.

The role and performance of trade unions is a subject for calm and meaningful discussions, which can eventually restore the trade unions to their proper status and authority.

Today we are concerned about the most important issue for all of us--for extricating the country from a crisis situation. The most recent Central Committee plenum outlined essential elements of an action program, made changes in the Central Committee leadership and initiated changes in the government. We heard a courageous and candid evaluation of the country's situation, the plenum promised an in-depth analysis and a program for improvements.

Can we say that this is a final, specific and comprehensive program for improving the economic situation? No, we cannot. We still do not have such a program and this is why we may feel a certain degree of frustration with regard to the diagnosis and to the methods of effective therapy. We should bear in mind, however, that we are experiencing a period so difficult and full of tensions that--although our impatience is natural--it is difficult to demand that the government present such a program immediately. As we know, the fifth Central Committee plenum is to discuss such a program.

One thing is certain, namely, that we need a government that is able to wisely and consistently implement the adopted methods of improvement and that has not only the right concepts but also the ability to see things through. This is what we have missed so far. After all, we have had various programs in the past year: the housing program, the food-for-the-people program and the program for restructuring trade. An economic maneuver to meet the needs of the market and of exports has been in the pipeline. The problem is that there has been a lack of perseverance in implementing all these programs. In fact quite a few of these fine programs have been shelved and put away.

Yesterday I talked to many people and to colleagues in my profession about the fourth plenum. We all agreed that we would like to hope that the announced changes will be consistently implemented and that promises and programs will not be shelved and put off under the pressure of problems and difficulties.... I think that the present processes within the party are creating conditions for conceiving and implementing feasible programs.

It is in the interest of our country, all our people and all the working people to get down to real work in keeping with clearly defined action plans--work preceded by acute critical and self-critical evaluations. Every unit of the administration, of party bodies and of social and trade union organizations will be responsible for specific sectors of these action plans. Let us discuss and correct errors, but above all let us work normally. This is in the interst of ourselves, our families, the work forces and all the people.

Poland's socialist reality and future must be the common denominator of our actions. The fundamental problem now is to apply socialist social and moral norms and to restore to them their proper meaning and value. Another fundamental problem is to increase the responsibility of all levels of state and economic administration for improvements in the country's excessively difficult situation.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON POLAND'S LINKS WITH SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

LD291322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Press review]

[Excerpts] In an article entitled "The Foundations of our Policy," TRYBUNA LUDU says that Poland is an important link in the community of socialist states. Thanks to this she is a state with secure borders and is an active and valued factor in the peaceful stabilization of European relations. This is now one can describe in the shortest space the basic elements defining the foreign policy line of our country and its place in international (?coexistence). These elements delineate Poland's role in the life of Europe and the world and define the lasting and consistent orientation in the foreign policy of our country. A factor of exceptional importance is the solidarity and reliability of our present allied ties. These are not ties of a short-term expedient nature which depend on transitory (?ups and downs) in the international situation. They are [words indistinct] of new type, for they are based on the community of the socialist system and ideology. They express the harmony of national raisons d'etat with the community of class interests.

Against the background and depth of the prerequisites of the national interest and of the lasting nature of ideological-class raisons d'etat, one can view in the proper perspective the points and allusions which are now being encountered in Western propaganda, which link the latest events in Poland with the possibility of our country loosening the allied ties which connect it with the whole community of socialist states. One has been able to observe speculations of this type over the past few days in the West German press, in certain [word indistinct] papers and a few more.

Further on in the TRYBUNA LUDU commentary, we have the sentence: No matter how acute the internal tensions in socialist Poland they do not change the main factors defining our foreign policy and our place in the world. The factors defining our place in the world--the close ties with the socialist countries, and the international activity based on these ties, in the spirit of peace and cooperation--have passed the test in the history of People's Poland. They have guaranteed the security of our borders and a long period of peace and high prestige in the world society. We view these lasting factors as invariable foundations of our policy deserving to be constantly strengthened and developed, and as values which are not and will not be questioned. So much for TRYBUNA LUDU's commentary.

PAP has already reported that at party meetings and discussions about the difficult situation in the country, including those in Elblag, there are more and more questions that [words indistinct] the other side of the coin and say who the people are who are leading the strike and who is behind them. An article in ZYCIE WARSZAWY entitled "Who is Trying to Find a Niche for Himself?" refers to those questions and conjectures. The daily quotes statements made by representatives of a small number of narrow groupings in Poland which are acting from positions alien to socialism and public order against the joint and justified demands of the workers and also against the peace and order which is so necessary in the difficult days our country is experiencing.

Two slogans of a so-called political nature have appeared in the Gdansk yard side by side with the justified demands of the workers. Public opinion knows these slogans, for in brief they refer to the opening of roads for the activity of antisocialist groups. The demands of the striking shipyard workers embrace key economic and social problems of our country. These are matters which the working class, the whole party and the whole of society are discussing today with great concern. If workers say colloquially that socialism should be progressive this (?is important). And if antisocialists say the same thing, it is quite a different matter. What they want is socialism without socialism, in other words [words indistinct] without class content because they know that the working masses do not want capitalism in Poland. This is how ZYCIE WARSZAWY comments on the activities of antisocialist groups.

WARSAW CITES JOSEPH KRAFT ARTICLE ON SITUATION

LD282146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] One of the well-known American commentators, Joseph Kraft, states on the pages of the Washington POST that the changes that have hitherto taken place in Poland and which have aroused sympathy are now reaching a certain limit which cannot be crossed without disturbing the European balance.

Kraft opines that Polish workers should accept what they have now achieved. If they do not do this and push ahead, then, in the opinion of the commentator, a catastrophe will ensue.

WFTU DELEGATION BRIEFED ON WORK STOPPAGES

LD282300 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] On 25 August the WFTU sent with the approval of the Polish CRZZ an information mission to Poland which the CRZZ of the Polish Peoples Republic familiarized with the situation in the country in the light of the current political and economic crisis.

The members of the mission were Deputy Secretary General Ibrahim Zakharia, (Gerku Marganguli), secretary general of the International Trade Union of Workers in Transport, Ports and Fisheries, and (John Hanning) of the U.S. section.

A statement made public in Prague yesterday states that the WFTU, which has always supported the efforts of Polish workers and people in the construction of an advanced socialist society, calls on workers of the world to be vigilant towards the present attacks affecting Poland. The WFTU is convinced that the Polish workers and their trade union organizations will do everything in their power to emerge from the present situation with settlements which will be for the best equally for the workers and for the entire country.

DOMESTIC TRADE MINISTRY ANNOUNCES RESUMED SALES OF SUGAR

LD281638 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Communique issued by the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services]

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers, as of 1 September the general sale of sugar on the voucher system, according to the principles in force up to 31 May this year, will be resumed. At the same time it is announced that, in connection with the temporary difficulties occurring in sugar supplies and with the demands of society, the vouchers issued for September and the following months of this year can be used up to the end of the year. The sale of sugar at commercial prices will be maintained in allotted shops according to stocks in hand.

WIDESPREAD OPERATION UNCOVERS SPECULATION, HOARDING

LD282136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] On 19 and 20 August operation "Market" was conducted in 32 voivodships. The operation was organized by the civic militia headquarters' office for combating economic crime. The aim of the operation was to uncover offenses committed to the detriment of consumers, also threatening the good name of honest traders. Militia functionaries, inspectors of state trade control and representatives of other organs of control who took part in the operation also uncovered many cases of wastage of market goods. In all, 6,447 retail centers and catering centers, and 2,669 trading points in bazaars, market places and streets were inspected. As a result 68 investigations have been started, 570 conviction proceedings were made, and fines worth 654,000 zloty have been collected.

The results once again confirm that insufficient supply is being used by some traders for abuse. The most often encountered cases were speculation and hoarding.

KOR REPRESENTATIVE URGES END TO STRIKES

LD280955 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 26 Aug 80 p 6

[Bobo Scheutz 25 August Warsaw interview with unnamed KOR representative: "Call Off the Strike"]

[Text] Warsaw--"The strikers have now achieved more than anyone could have imagined when the conflict started and the strike committees ought now to decide to call off the strike after getting all the regime's promises properly in writing."

A representative of KOR, the Social Self-Defense Committee, one of the leading opposition groups in Poland, told SVENSKA DAGBLADET this on Monday, after the Communist Party Central Committee drastically reshuffled the party and government and also promised the workers free trade union elections.

It was KOR which via its representatives in the independent trade union movement in Gdansk initiated the political demands that have turned the conflict into the most serious challenge hitherto for the ruling Communist Party.

Through its channels in Gdansk KOR is now trying to persuade the strike leaders that they must now break off the strike in order to make sure of the successes that have already been achieved.

"It is true that all the goals have not been reached, but the government has now backed down so much that it will soon be standing with its back against the wall and will not be able to make any more concessions. And you must remember that behind that wall stands the Soviet Union, and even though direct intervention is the last thing the Soviet Union wants, we must not now risk putting on any further pressure," the man from KOR said.

"The promise of free union elections with a limited number of candidates could be the seed of a reform movement within the system, but what is important is to see to it that the promise can be put into effect, so the trade unions do not just become the regime's tools again in a couple of years," he continued.

"Even though it is too early to say what changes in the government and the Politburo will mean in the long run, everything indicates that the reform groups within and close to the party now have a better opportunity to make their voices heard.

"The new situation has also cleared the way for reforms in areas not directly affected by the strikers' list of demands. It could, for example, now be possible for the lawyers' association to strengthen the role of lawyers in the apparatus of justice."

The man who told SVENSKA DAGBLADET this is one of those in the KOR group in Warsaw not yet arrested. Some 12 KOR members are still being held by the police. They have not been charged with anything but have been arrested under a law corresponding to the Swedish one for temporary custody. It means that they can be held for a maximum of 48 hours, but this means in practice that they are only released for 5 minutes between arrests. The 12 men have been arrested like this three times since last week.

Unconfirmed reports say that the police have also arrested intellectuals in Krakow and Katowice to prevent their initiation of political demands amongst the workers in the mining areas, according to KOR. In Warsaw opposition groups are busy organizing cells in places of work, but the attempts have not been particularly successful so far.

CEAUSESCU, CAMEROON PRESIDENT CONTINUE TALKS, VISIT ENTERPRISE

AU290820 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Text] A further round of official talks took place this morning at the State Council palace between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Ahmadou Ahidjo, president of the United Republic of Cameroon. The talks were attended by Romanian and Cameroonian officials.

The Romanian-Cameroonian summit dialogue is taking place under the sign of the common desire to develop relations between Romania and Cameroon on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for independence and mutual advantage to the benefit of both countries and peoples, of their progress and prosperity and in the interest of the cause of peace, detente and understanding in the world and of establishing a new international economic order.

At this hour, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Ahmadou Ahidjo are visiting "Semanatoarea" enterprise in Bucharest.

Pitesti Visit

AU282001 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1858 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Aug (AGERPRES)--On Thursday, August 28 in the afternoon, Ahmadou Ahidjo, president of the United Republic of Cameroon, paid a visit to Pitesti municipality. In the evening, the Cameroon head of state, together with the officials accompanying him, returned to Bucharest.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY'S MACEDO

AU282004 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] Bucharest, 28 Aug (AGERPRES)--On August 28, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, Romania's president, received Antonio Macedo, president of the Portuguese Socialist Party, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion, the president of the Portuguese Socialist Party was highly appreciative of the remarkable achievements scored by the Romanian people in its country's economic and social development, of the policy of peace, independence, friendship and collaboration promoted on an international plane by Romania, by President Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the interview warm friendly greetings were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mario Soares.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Antonio Macedo pointed to the positive course of the relations of collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Portuguese Socialist Party, between Romania and Portugal and expressed the wish to expand and deepen those relations on a political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific plane.

Approached were also current issues of the international political situation. In this context the PCP general secretary and the PSP president expressed the two parties, concern over the tense international relations and pointed to the significance of intensified efforts by all states, and by all the democratic and progressive forces towards overcoming the states of tension in the world, coming back to a policy of detente grounded on the observance in interstate relations of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equal rights and mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs, renunciation of the threat and use of force.

It was stressed that international peace and detente called for an exclusively peaceful, negotiated settlement of all interstate litigations, of the states of tension and conflict extant in various parts of the world, for the adoption of urgent measures of cutting down military expenditures, of disarmament, nuclear in the first place.

In connection with the situation in Europe, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and the president of the Portuguese Socialist Party reiterated the two parties' determination to further act, alongside all progressive and democratic forces on the continent, for the appropriate unfolding of the Madrid meeting which should end with positive results in translating into fact the Helsinki Final Act and convening an international conference on disarmament.

The need was stressed for resolute actions in order to arrive at negotiations conducive to the halting of the arms race, of deployment and development of further nuclear missiles that endanger peace, detente, the peoples' independence, the security of Europe and of the whole world.

During the interview. Nicolae Ceausescu and Antonio Macedo highlighted the importance of strengthening collaboration and solidarity among the communist, socialist, social democratic parties, among all the progressive and democratic forces, of enhancing the role of public opinion, of peoples in the struggle for peace, detente, disarmament and broad international collaboration, for the peoples' right to free and independent existence, for democracy, economic and social progress, for a better and more just world.

Both sides pointed to the fact that the consolidation of the climate of peace and detente called for the establishment of new-type relations of fully equal rights in international life, for all states' participation, no matter their size, in the settlement of the major issues of the contemporary epoch, for the adoption of measures of eradicating underdevelopment and building a new world economic order favouring all peoples' economic and social progress.

NATIONAL DAY FESTIVE MEETING IN MOSCOW REPORTED

AU212126 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 21 Aug 80

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug (AGERPRES)--A festive meeting devoted to Romania's national day took place in Moscow.

The meeting was presided over by B.E. Sarkisov, vice-president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; Z.N. Nuriyev, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR; V.I. Konotop, first secretary of the Moscow Regional Committee of the CPSU, chairman of the central leadership of the Soviet-Romanian friendship association and other officials.

Addresses during the meeting were made by V.P. Usachev, deputy minister of education of the RSFSR, and Traian Dudas, ambassador of Romania in Moscow.

SECOND CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS SET FOR 10-12 SEP

AU290707 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 29 Aug 80

[Text] The second Congress of People's Councils will take place 10-12 September. Some 8,300 delegates will discuss, in plenum and sections, problems of the broadest interest for our whole society and will adopt decisions designed to generally speed up the process of socialist and communist construction in Romania.

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON SITUATION IN POLAND

TASS Comment Reported

AU281635 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] All Soviet central dailies today, and the evening television and radio casts yesterday, carried a TASS commentary under the title "In Connection With the Events in Poland." TASS warns about the increased undermining--as it is described--activities of the antisocialist forces in Poland and the instigating role of Western information media.

Speculating about various subjective and objective difficulties which have appeared in the country, TASS explains, the antisocialist elements are trying to unite their efforts so that they may push Poland from the socialist path which it has chosen and which corresponds to the basic interests of the entire Polish people.

Citing the statements of the latest plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, the Soviet news agency explains that, we quote, nobody has the right to jeopardize the fate of the country. The TASS article also points out the revanchist aspirations of some circles in the FRG toward the Polish territory.

In the introductory part of the article TASS notes that the communists and working people of Poland are in favor of the urgent adoption of effective measures to overcome the difficulties experienced by Poland, and in favor, as it is said, of the resumption of a normal working pace and social life in Poland.

Polish Government on Demands

AU281643 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 80

[TANJUG correspondent Zoran Zlatanovic report from Warsaw]

[Text] The negotiations between the government and the Interfactory Strike Committee have been resumed in Gdansk. The Polish Government has announced its position on the strikers' demands. TANJUG correspondent Zoran Zlatanovic reports on this from Waraaw in more detail:

The government negotiations with the Interfactory Strik Committee were resumed in Gdansk at noon today. The government today announced its position on the strikers' demands. The government statement contains a realistic political and economic view on what can be done in the country so that, under the pressure of some demands formulated in an atmosphere of intensified emotions, the economic situation in the country might not further deteriorate and become even more serious.

The way out, therefore, is not in a large pay increase, for this would lead to galloping inflation, as the report of the government commission puts it. The government nevertheless accepts in essence the workers' demands relating to the standard of living, but these demands can be granted only over a certain period of time and along with a new economic policy program that is yet to be prepared.

In the meantime, the strike in the Baltic area continues. It appears that the danger exists of the strikes assuming larger proportions. The basic obstacle to a normalization of the situation continues to be the insistence on demands of a political nature. One of these demands is the setting up of so-called free trade unions. This demand has been assessed to be antisocialist.

The press explains again today that opponents of socialism stand behind demands of this kind. One must separate the wheat from the chaff, the party daily TRYBUNA LUDU says today and recalls that a deep and radical renovation of the trade unions has been promised that will ensure their full independence of action and a (?partner-like) role in society.

VJESNIK on International Effects

AU281958 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 80 "Seven Days" Supplement p 4

[From the "Accents of the Week" column by Hido Biscevic; "Polish 'Obvious Truths'"]

[Text] In a speech on the radio and television on Monday, Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR, stressed some "obvious truths" which illuminate better the foreign political dimensions of the disturbed and burdened internal political situation.

It is indisputable that the extended strike with its more and more pronounced differentiation of political demands also imposes itself as a political and social event whose causes and consequences may also be interpreted in a wider international context. If the Western journalistic hypotheses about the danger of external interference are set aside, some very important and sensitive elements influencing international relations come to the fore.

However, it is necessary to emphasize that the analysis of these elements must be approached in a calm and balanced way, without propagandistic cynicism, for "we cannot be glad when we note that the world crisis is hitting a socialist country, too," as Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the PCI Directorate recently remarked. The position of the public media of various countries, especially the European ones, is characteristic of the thinking about the "non-Polish" views on the strikes and the strikers' demands. At the beginning of the Polish strikes, the information media (especially in the West, for those in the East did not concern themselves with these events until Wednesday evening, when the Soviet television for the first time carried a report on "work stoppages in some Polish enterprises") paid more attention to "theoretical discussions" about the phenomenon of strikers in socialist countries of the East European type. It was only later that they began to concern themselves more with political analyses of the possible effect of the Polish events on international relations.

In fact Edward Gierek himself in his speech offered a starting point which cannot be avoided in any deliberations. Saying that "a feeling of responsibility for the fate of Poland and the Poles demands of us that we remember some obvious truths," Gierek in the very next sentence went on to say: "The socialist system is inseparably linked with higher Polish reasons of state. Only a socialist Poland can be a free and independent state with inviolable borders."

It is therefore clear that any attempt to place the Polish events in a European and world context must proceed from Gierek's perception of reality.

However, it is no wonder that at the present international moment the Polish events should be analyzed in the light of negative tendencies which undermine the foundations of the international order and have a very serious influence on the strategic views (?particularly) of the big powers and some significant forthcoming international gatherings, such as CSCE. Anyhow, as an integral part of the European political and social structure, Poland is now a significant and unavoidable factor in international relations. [paragraph continues]

A disturbed internal Polish scene could take, in the CSCE context, an extremely important place in possible polemics, above all because some forces may try to prove on the basis of the Polish example that the link between social processes in the several countries and the general framework of European relations has not been adequately and sufficiently built into the process of the CSCE and its documents. It is essential to bear this in mind, because the United States, if it decides to do so, may assert that the "Polish case" demonstrates that the Soviet interpretation of the Final Act of Helsinki--according to which the most important achievement of the CSCE is considered to be the confirmation of the territorial and political status quo in Europe--is not suited to social development, is wrong and has arisen on the basis of the Soviet Union's state interests.... Combined with a possible resumption of the human rights campaign, such a platform could seriously shake the pillars of detente which anyway are wobbly at present, and to some extent even force an escalation of the pressure to increase the discipline within the existing blocs. In the long view, this would be a dangerous contradiction, for the tendency of allied countries to play a more independent role on the international scene has been manifested particularly in the Western alliance in the past few months.

Any attempt to force a destabilization of the European political structure through any kind of maneuvers in the Polish events by any side would therefore be shown to be an extremely dangerous adventure with unforeseeable consequences.

BORBA, POLITIKA 26 Aug Reports

AU281317 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 26 August on page one carries an 1,100-word report from Warsaw by its permanent correspondent Lazar Martinovic on the strike situation in Poland. Reporting on Gierek's speech at the PZPR Central Committee session, Martinovic says that Gierek said that the leadership would not accept the worker's demands but "that he did not define what demands were involved and that it clearly results that in making concessions the leadership is prepared to go to a certain limit which will guarantee the stability of the system." He also says that "the view is prevailing in the official circles that the political maximum has been offered."

Martinovic says that the strike committees are now discussing the PZPR Central Committee decisions and Gierek's speech and that one of the important decisions of the plenum was "the removal of certain people form the highest party and state leadership" for which no explanation was given. He says that on the basis of this fact "it can be concluded that a division existed in the previous top political team as regards Polish reality which, as has been learned from reliable sources, was also present at the just concluded plenum."

After listing the personal changes in the Polish leadership, Martinovic says that "in contrast to December 1970, this time the strikers did not insist on cadre changes nor did they demand the removal of certain people. For this reason, these changes will probably not have any serious effect on them."

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 26 August on page two carries a 700-word report from Warsaw by its special correspondent Aleksandar Prlja dealing with the cadre changes in the Polish leadership, Gierek's speech at the session of the PZPR Central Committee and the decisions adopted at the session. Prlja says "that all this is now being carefully analyzed throughout Poland" where the unanimous view prevails that Gierek conducted in advance "all the necessary, or better said, indispensable consultations with the most important Polish allies and partners."

After reporting on the talks between the government delegation and the strike committee which have not yielded any results, Prlja says that "although we are not in the position to make clear predictions and assessments, we should be permitted to recall that, unless yesterday's session of the Central Committee and its important decisions bring about a calming of the situation on the Baltic coast and its improvement, the Polish situation may become even more dangerous" and that this fact "perceptibly increases the responsibility of the strike leadership of the Baltic coast."

26, 27 Aug Press Reports

AU291035 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 27 August on page seven carries a 1,600-word report by its permanent correspondent Lazar Martinovic on the developments in Poland. He notes that the dialogue between the government representative Jagielski and the strike committee has been resumed after the government met three of the workers' demands and that after a 1-day interval the information media are again carrying reports on the situation on the Baltic coast.

Martinovic says that "alarm about possible political repercussions because of the continuation of the strike is also growing. This shows more and more that, despite all efforts, it will be difficult to overcome the gap of confidence between the political and state leadership and the workers class." He also cites the 26 August TRYBUNA LUDU editorial that "it is high time to return the normal rhythm of life to the country" and says that the Polish media carry foreign reaction to the developments in Poland, mostly about those aspects which say that Europe at this moment needs a stable Poland.

However, Martinovic says that "it is difficult to say how far away the badly needed agreement is" and that "the strikers remain hard and unyielding in their demands, particularly those of a political nature." Martinovic also reports on commentaries carried by TRYBUNA LUDU and ZYCIE WARSZAWY on the problem of the trade unions and says that both newspapers admit that the criticism of the trade unions was justified.

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 27 August on page three carries an 1,200-word report by its special correspondent Aleksandar Prlja on the situation in Poland. He says that the talks between the government delegation and the main strike committee were resumed after the country's leadership agreed to meet two of the workers demands, but that the strike continues. Prlja says that the main demand of workers is for "free trade unions" which the Baltic workers imagine as "a spontaneously created, democratic organization set up after the widest possible workers' voting" which would "enjoy full support of the workers class itself."

Prlja notes that in his speech at the PZPR Central Committee plenum Gierek avoided mentioning "antisocialist forces" and this made a favorable impression on workers "who undoubtedly enjoy strong and widest possible sympathies throughout the country." He also reports on the 26 August TRYBUNA LUDU editorial and on the television speech made by new Polish Finance Minister Marian Krzak.

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian on 26 August on pages one and three carries an 800-word report from Warsaw by its permanent correspondent Ilija Marinkovic on the developments in Poland. He reports that Jagielski informed the representatives of the strike committee in Gdansk about the decisions of the fourth PZPR Central Committee plenum and reports on the strike situation. Marinkovic says that some of the workers' demands "reflect long political speculations of various dissident groups." He also lists personnel changes in Polish leadership and says that the government changes have provoked a greater surprise than those in the party.

VRHOVEC MEETS OFFICIALS AT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

LD281942 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] United Nations, August 28 (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs [Josip Vrhovec], who is heading the Yugoslav delegation at the special U.N. General Assembly session on development problems yesterday took part at a working meeting with several heads of delegations. The meeting was set up by Bangladesh President Ziaur Rahman. They discussed the course of the current U.N. session and the possibilities of launching a new round of global negotiations on the international development strategy.

Vrhovec also met with Romanian Vice Premier and Minister of Trade Cornel Burtica and Canadian Foreign Minister Mark MacGuinan. During these meetings, questions related to the special session's agenda were discussed, as well as bilateral relations and some other international questions.

The subject of Vrhovec's talks with Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade Li Qiang, who heads the Chinese delegation, were the topics of the special session.

Vrhovec's meeting with Sri Lanka Foreign Minister Hameed dealt with the activities of the nonaligned countries, particularly the preparations for the nonaligned ministerial conference in New Delhi next year. They also discussed questions related to the topics of the special U.N. session.

The activities of the developing countries at the current session were discussed by Vrhovec and Guyana Foreign Minister Jackson and Mozambique Foreign Minister Chissano. During these meetings, views were exchanged on the nonaligned countries activities. The Yugoslav and Mozambique foreign minister also discussed the situation in the south of Africa.

INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE ENDS

AU261430 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 80 p 2

[V.M. report]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 August--The 52d conference of the World Association for International Law ended in Belgrade today with the adoption of 15 resolutions. The meeting of 700 of the best known lawyers from 48 countries was a complete success, thus far the greatest success of the World Association for International Law, several participants in yesterday's general session of the conference noted.

Prof Dr Smilja Avramov, newly elected president of the World Association for International Law, said, among other things, that the main aspect of this meeting was "the spirit of cooperation and the desire to contribute to the solution of burning world problems."

The main topic of the Belgrade meeting was "the legal aspects of the new international economic system." This question attracted the greatest attention of the participants of this conference. The resolution on the legal aspects of the new international economic system envisages, among other things, that efforts be continued in the search for new solutions in international law that would contribute to a more just world economic system. To this end, four new subcommittees of the world association were formed.

At yesterday's session, Jean Lisbon, president of the French Association for International Law, expressed thanks, on behalf of all participants, to the organizer of this meeting, the Yugoslav Association for International Law, to the sponsor, the Federal Executive Council and to the host city, Belgrade. He particularly stressed that all participants of this conference had convinced themselves during their stay in Belgrade and other towns that they visited that Yugoslavia is a country with an exceptionally stable internal system which is continuing after President Tito's demise with an undiminished activity in its peace-loving and nonaligned policy with which it has acquired so many friends throughout the world.

In addition to the main resolution on the new international economic system, the Belgrade meeting also adopted many other important legal documents: resolutions devoted to human rights, to the criminal code, to the protection of human environment and others.

DJURANOVIC CHAIRS FEC SESSION ON PRICES

LD282308 Zagreb Domestic Servoce on Serbp-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Text] At a session chaired by Veselin Djuranovic, the Federal Executive Council considered a number of questions of the policy of prices, in particular the production, wholesale and protective prices of specific agricultural yields to be grown in 1981. The council entrusted the appropriate federal organs with preparing proposals by the end of the next week on the fixing of prices for these products.

The Federal Executive Council also adopted a decision on the composition of the Yugoslav delegation to take part in the preparatory meeting of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation due to begin in Madrid 9 September. Our delegation will be headed by Miroslav Zotovic, ambassador at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

RILINDJA ON 24 AUG REVIEWS AGRICULTURAL SHORTCOMINGS IN KOSOVO

Rugova Article

AU271725 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 24 Aug 80 p 7

[R. Rugova article: "Observation": "Will We Produce Sufficient Wheat?"]

[Text] Kosovo is mainly an agricultural region and all preconditions exist for an intensive development of this primary branch of the economy: fertile soil, suitable climate, particularly in the Dukagjin plateau, relatively modern equipment, to a certain extent the water supply for irrigation and so forth. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Kosovo could produce sufficient quantities of grain, vegetables, fruit and other foodstuffs to meet all the needs of the population and even surpluses for export. Why then, are we compelled to import wheat and certain other essential foodstuffs?

Kosovo has large areas of uncultivated land, particularly in the Kosovo plateau, while in Dukagjin the fields are fragmented. Moreover, the private sector of agriculture, with the greater production potential, is still far removed from the level of progress envisaged some time ago. As has been observed in recent years, moreover, the farmers are increasingly failing to till their land properly or are sowing crops requiring little effort, in most cases grass.

The outlines for the development of Kosovo's agroindustrial complex during the next 5-year period have now adopted the form of a basic document on making possible the drafting of plans and programs for the 1981-85 period. On the basis of this document, it is expected that the fields of Kosovo will produce 32,000 carloads [1 carload equals 10 tons] of wheat during this period, a quantity that is estimated to meet the needs of the Kosovars, in addition to increased quantities of other agricultural produce. But the extent to which this target will be achieved depends on numerous factors, primarily on the organization of the work in the agricultural sector.

It is a well-known fact that we are not sufficiently organized in this field, too. About 180,000 hectares were sown this spring--that is, 94.7 percent of the plan. There were failures also in the autumn sowing. Hundreds of hectares were thus left uncultivated. To this must also be added the fact that about 1,000 hectares of agricultural land in Kosovo are lost to the construction industry every year and that many fields are not cultivated properly owing to the fact that their owners have changed profession. In other words, we are compelled to observe that the land is not properly used. Or let us take the current year's plan for white grains. This plan stipulated that about 16,000 carloads would be collected, whereas only 4,403 carloads had been collected by the middle of August.

The agricultural investments made during the current 5-year period will surely bear their full effect during the next 5-year period. Considerable results are particularly expected from the establishment of minifarms, the "Iber-Lepenc" and "Radoniq" irrigation systems and so forth. But something must also change in the psychology of our working people themselves in the psychology of the social and all other factors bearing on work in agriculture.

Some 85,496 hectares of wheat were sown this year in the fields of Kosovo, from which a produce of approximately 20,000 carloads is expected (production last year was approximately 22,000 carloads). But more corn continues to be sown in the fields of Kosovo (now little used by the Kosovars for common bread). Altogether, 101,675 hectares have been sown with this crop, of which 500 hectares are in the social sector.

When the possibilities and conditions exist, let us then produce our own common bread!

More on Kosovo

AU271730 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 24 Aug 80 p 7

[Text] Some 101,675 hectares were sown this year with corn in the fields of Kosovo, in addition to 85,496 hectares with wheat, 28,290 hectares with forage crops, 11,141 hectares with barley, 1,654 hectares with sugarbeet, 4.415 hectares with sunflower, 1,618 hectares with tobacco, 21,154 hectares with vegetables and so forth.

The constant intention of changing this structure in favor of industrial crops, primarily in favor of sugarbeet and tobacco (4,000 hectares were planned this year to be sown with tobacco), is not being fulfilled also for a number of subjective reasons of the agricultural producers, who are inclined more in the direction of one-sided interests.

BRANKO MIKULIC SPEAKS ON COLLECTIVE WORK, LEADERSHIP

AU271345 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Aug 80 p 9

["Excerpts" from a lecture by Branko Mikulic "held at the political school of the League of Communists organization in the organs and organizations of the federation"--no place or date given]

[Text] Since the 11th LCY Congress, the Eighth Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia and the adoption of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on the League of Communists' tasks in the realization of Comrade Tito's initiative on the advancement of collective work and responsibility in the further democratization of sociopolitical relations, there have been very broad discussions in the League of Communists, other sociopolitical and social organizations, delegate assemblies and their organs among associated labor and at some scientific gatherings. Intensive activities have been encouraged to heighten the critical perception of the practice to date, to advance collective work, to democratize relations in the organs of sociopolitical organizations and communities and to strengthen their responsibility before the delegate and elector grassroots, and to develop and strengthen socialist self-management and the delegate system. Concrete measures have also been undertaken and decisions adopted on changes in statutory decisions and rules on the manner of work and organization of the several organs, as well on the application of the principles of the 1-year term of office.

Activities to Date in Implementing Tito's Initiative

In the LCY, at the regular election conferences in the communes, cities and regions, decisions are being adopted on amendments to statutory decisions of the League of Communists. These decisions, among other things, determine the role of the conferences of the League of Communists as the highest organs of the League of Communists, and the [party] committees as their executive political organs; the number of members of both the conferences and the committees is being reduced; commissions are abolished for those questions for which social councils or sections exist in the SAWP; the principle of electing the president of a conference for 1 year and the secretary of a committee for 2 years is introduced; wherever the statutes of the League of Communists of the republics and provinces allow it, the president of the conference is at the same time the president of the committee, and so forth. In the central and provincial committees all the voluminous analytical work has already been done and complex programs of activities have been adopted for implementing Comrade Tito's initiative in the republics and provinces.

All the organs and organizations of the League of Communists are engaged in the realization of these programs and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. A year before the republican congresses and the provincial conferences, the principle of a 1-year term for the offices of the presidents of the central and provincial committees will be applied, and there will be consultations beforehand on the application of a 2-year term of office for secretaries of the presidiums of the central and provincial committees. During that time, in accordance with the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, there will be discussions about the future composition of the presidiums of the central and provincial committees and decisions will be adopted.

In the organs of the SAWP, the trade unions, the veterans federation and the League of Socialist Youth, as well as in social organizations, decisions on amending the rules of procedure, on reducing somewhat the number of members of the political executive organs and on introducing a 1-year term of office for the presidents and a 2-year term for the secretaries of the organs of these organizations have been adopted. [paragraph continues]

In the republics and provinces, as well as in a large number of communes, the first presidents have been elected for 1 year and secretaries for 2 years.

In the organs and organizations of the federation, this principle was adopted earlier in the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, 1 year ago in the Trade Union Council and the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, and in April this year in the Federal Conference of the SAWPY and the veterans federation.

Cultivation of Collective Democratic Work and Responsibility

The principles of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility are being established in the self-managing interest communities, too. Presidiums or executive committees are being introduced in these communities as collective organs electing a president for 1 year. Efforts are being made for a self-managing transformation of administrative organs. Collegial organs, committees or commissions are being introduced wherever possible, and social councils are being set up.

In order to create conditions for the introduction of 1-year terms of office for the presidents of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities and the presidencies of the socialist republics and provinces, preparations have begun for respective changes in the SFRY Constitution, the constitutions of the socialist republics and provinces and the statutes of the assemblies of the communes, cities and regional communities of communes. These changes must be regarded in the context of the further development of the political system of socialist self-management.

We know that at the 10th LCY Congress and with the adoption of the SFRY Constitution in 1974, the Law on Associated Labor and other laws regulating the system, the socialist self-managing socioeconomic relations enabling our socialist self-managing community to organize itself gradually as a community of "freely associated producers" were defined and elaborated. Of course it is a matter of opening up the process in this direction. It is based on social ownership--which is the basis of the association of labor and the governing position of the workers class and all working people--and on the right of the working people to self-management.

The Importance of the Constitutional Changes for the Further Development of the Delegate System

The constitution and the Law on Associated Labor provide that the working people directly and on an equal footing with other working people in associated labor, on the basis of labor with social means, realize their personal and material interests, decide on the conditions and results of their labor. For the purpose of realizing their self-managing rights they freely associate in various forms of association of labor and pooling of resources, in self-managing interest, local and sociopolitical communities. In keeping with this provision, self-managing agreements and social accords are being developed and applied more and more in our society as methods, forms and instruments of the free self-managing settling of mutual relations and of harmonizing various interests of the working people and their self-managing organizations and communities. In this way, with the application of the delegate principle, it is ensured that the working people themselves regulate their mutual relations and realize their direct influence on decisionmaking at all levels of social organization.

Organs and bodies of the delegate system and other institutions of the political system are being set up and functioning on this basis. [paragraph continues]

A good functioning of this self-managing and political organism presupposes the full equality of the working people, their delegations and delegates; it presupposes that collective, democratic work and responsibility--both inside these organs and in relations with the delegate grassroots--is cultivated in the organs to which they have elected their delegates.

When all this is borne in mind, the importance and the class essence of Tito's initiative become much more clear. At the same time, the motives behind the resistance of the technocracy and bureaucracy to the development and strengthening of socialist self-management, the affirmation of the delegate system, the self-managing agreements and social accords and Comrade Tito's initiative become easier to understand.

Although the approach to the constitutional changes is restricted--changes will be made only to those provisions that constitute an obstacle to the introduction of 1-year or 2-year terms of office for the presidents--changes are nevertheless important for the further development of the political system of socialist self-management.

Although they will not be large in extent, the constitutional changes should contribute with their content and nature to an even more consistent realization of the position and role of the working people and their self-managing organizations and communities in the political system of socialist self-managing democracy as laid down in the SFRY Constitution; to an even fuller implementation of the essence of the delegate system and to its further development; to the creation of even better conditions for self-managing, democratic decisionmaking in the institutions of the political system; to the more efficient implementation of the rights and duties of the organs and bodies of the delegate assemblies; to the advancement of the methods and content of their work and forms of organization; to the strengthening of personal and joint responsibility; to the replaceability of office holders of self-managing, public and other social functions; to the prevention of the tendency that individuals have privileged positions in decisionmaking or that they decide on behalf of the organs; to the further democratization of the cadre policy and the combatting of the tendency to usurp the self-managing rights of the working people and citizens, and so forth.

Affirmation of the Basic Organizations of Associated Labor as the Basic Forms of Association

Comrade Tito's report to the 11th LCY Congress and Kardelj's work, "The Direction of Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management," worked out in detail the basis of the further development of our political system. Now we are facing the task of implementing this consistently in practice. This refers to the role and work of all self-managing organs, to the functioning of the delegations and the delegate assemblies and their organs and bodies, to the realization of the role of the League of Communists and other subjective socialist forces in the political system, to the involvement of science and professional services, and so forth.

In this respect one must particularly bear in mind the primary task that the basic organization of associated labor should be further affirmed as the basic form of association of labor and working people and of their direct decisionmaking on the conditions and results of their labor. It should be affirmed that such relations should develop in the basic organizations of associated labor as will fully express the equality and equal rights of all its members. With the same determination one must strive for an affirmation of the role of the local community.

With such relations, the awareness of the indispensability of self-managing collective work, democratic decisionmaking, personal and collective responsibility of all the members of self-managing organizations and communities, their organs and bodies, will develop and strengthen. Logically, under these conditions the self-managing organs, delegations and delegates in the delegate assemblies can make their decisions only collectively and in conformity with their authorization. Every member of a self-managing organ or delegation and delegate is personally responsible for this to the collective or to the delegate body. In order that this responsibility may be complete, the principle of their full equality and equal rights must be respected, on the one hand, and the work of all the organs, delegations and delegate assemblies must be public on the other. Both of these requirements will stimulate democratic expression and the harmonization of various self-managing interests and at the same time they will be bulwark against attempts to impose selfish interests and against their politization.

To Reduce the Initiative to Organizational Cadre Measures Alone May Devalue Its Essential Aims

A certain lopsidedness, certain misunderstandings and even some objective difficulties appear in the comprehension of the significance as well as in the programming of activities in implementing Comrade Tito's initiative.

The former is shown in reducing the initiative to a 1-year or 2-year term of office alone and in the belief that this is the only way to implement the initiative. It is further shown in the insistence that the principle of a 1-year term of office be applied even where it is neither necessary nor advisable, for instance in managing functions in associated labor organizations, in associations of citizens, culture societies, working bodies of sociopolitical organizations, assemblies of sociopolitical communities and so forth.

In fact, in this way Comrade Tito's initiative is reduced merely to organizational cadre measures, which is very lopsided and wrong. It may devalue its far-reaching, essential aims which have been referred to, even if only in some communities and only temporarily.

The latter is manifested in questions such as: What will some comrades do after they have been in "operative" political functions for years (as if one should stay in such functions forever and is not able to be a member of a collective organ or work in associated labor and the like, in keeping with one's professional and other abilities). At the meetings of two communal organizations I heard the question: Is this a sign of trust or of mistrust of the League of Communists in its cadres. This is an illogical question, for if the League of Communists advocates the election of new people to the offices of presidents of collective organs every year, this is a sign, on the one hand, of the conviction that our society has enough mature cadres for such functions, and, on the other hand, of the League of Communists' great confidence in this wide cadre basis and not only in the small number of cadres that have been most prominent up to now.

The question of the struggle against leaderism [liderstvo] is also connected with this. There are some simplifications of this notion and demand, and it may appear that we are not only against bureaucratic leaderism and arrogance but also against the social prestige that is gained by some personages as a result of their devoted work and creativity, efforts and struggle for the good of man, tremendous contributions to the victory of our revolution and its constant progress, human attitude toward people and their needs and desires and so forth. [paragraph continues]

While struggling against the former as being antiself-managing behavior and an attempt to obstruct the development of socialist self-management and usurp the power of the workers class, working people and citizens through bureaucratic leaderism behavior, one must at the same time develop and strengthen the feeling of respect and recognition for the latter, and stressing them as very positive human virtues and abilities. Our people, and others, too, feel this very well themselves and can evaluate it.

Simplification of the Notion of Leadership

Let us take the example of Edvard Kardelj. Although after 1967 he did not occupy any so-called leading function, we all wanted to see him in our midst, to greet him and to hear him more than anybody else, apart from Comrade Tito, whatever function he may have occupied. This was the case because of his revolutionary work throughout the years, his adherence to principle, his scientific work and daily practical action. Therefore he has and will always be remembered throughout Yugoslavia as a generally accepted and respected true leader. How good it would be if this country had at least a dozen such leaders.

The case of Veljko Vlahovic is similar. He never occupied any so-called leading function, but because of everything he did for the liberation of the workers class and the people, because of his adherence to principle, communist consistency and human kindness he was valued and accepted as a man, comrade and leader dear to all, both in his native Montenegro and in all the other socialist republics and provinces.

We have had more such personages in our workers movement.

Engels particularly occupied himself with this question. His letter to Eduard Bernstein, written on 25 October 1881, is very instructive. Among other things he wrote:

"With his theoretical and practical work Marx has assumed such a position that the best people of all workers movements in various countries have complete confidence in him. In the most difficult moments they ask him for advice and they usually find that his advice is best.... So it is not Marx who imposes his opinions on people, and certainly not wilfully, but it is the people who come to him."

Marx became a theoretician and leader of all the proletarians and other exploited masses of the world through his theoretical work and revolutionary activities, and not through functions in the workers movement. This can also be said for Engels and Lenin, who also enjoyed the confidence and undivided recognition in the workers and communist movement.

MEMBER OF USTASHA SENTENCED IN MOSTAR

LD282020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 28 Aug 80

[Summary] Mostar 28 Aug--The grand council of the Mostar District Court sentenced Mirko Blaze Markotic (aged 29) to 11 years in prison today, for hostile activity. Markotic was proved to be a member of the Ustasha terrorist organization in Chicago, United States, where he lived from 1979 to May, 1980, and actively participated in hostile activity in propaganda directed towards forcible disruption of the constitutional order of the SFRY and against the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. The accused admitted his crimes during the trial.